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CONFIDENTIAL

TITLE: CANADIAN TRADE UNION PHILOSOPHY: THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE ENGLISH  
SPEAKING TRADE UNION MOVEMENT OF CANADA, 1935 - 1967

AUTHOR: C. Brian Williams,  
Faculty of Business Administration and Commerce,  
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Edmonton, Alberta.



*[Schedules]*

DRAFT STUDY

prepared for

*Canada*

TASK FORCE ON LABOUR RELATIONS  
(Privy Council Office)

PROJECT NO.: 18

Submitted: JULY 1969

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CANADIAN TRADE UNION PHILOSOPHY: THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE ENGLISH  
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## PART I

### INTRODUCTION

#### A. THE RELEVANCE OF LABOR HISTORY AND TRADE UNION PHILOSOPHY TO THE WORK OF THE FEDERAL TASK FORCE

##### The Role of Labor History

Canadian labor history, particularly trade union structure, government and philosophy, is one of several aspects of labor-management relations in Canada which is in need of systematic research and study. It is a field in which the published literature is not only aged, but also limited in its coverage and content. Much of the published material is devoid of that analytical interpretation which relates findings and conclusions to the practical day-to-day labor-management relationship. For this lack of relevance the Canadian labor historian has received much criticism and, as a result, his influence in moulding this relationship has been muted. As a result, the contribution of labor history to the labor-management field in general and public policy formulation in particular has been limited. This is a tragedy but one that Canadian labor historians quite rightly deserve.

For the reason noted above, an absence of qualified scholars in the field, and a general lack of support for the activity by the Universities and funding agencies, the role and influence of Canadian labor history on the labor-management relationship has not developed to the levels reached by the discipline in the United States. In Canada, the traditions and influence of institutions such as Johns Hopkins and Wisconsin and the personalities of such scholars as Barnett, Ely, and

Commons are absent.

On the other hand Canadian labor history, particularly the structure, government, and philosophy of the Canadian Labor Movement, has much to contribute to the labor-management field, particularly public policy. It is a field in which there is much to be learned and, thanks to a prolific labor press and excellent archives and libraries, it is a subject on which there is excellent research data, documents, and materials available.

The justification for support for Canadian labor history lies primarily in two areas. First, its ability to bring perspective to the contemporary labor scene and, second, it increases our understanding of the behavior of one of the parties to the labor-management relationship through an understanding of the way in which it views its role and function in the labor-management relationship. With respect to the former contribution, labor history places the present in its proper relationship with the past and in so doing gives meaning to contemporary events. The labor-management field is one in which conflict occupies a paramount role. It is one in which events are often identified as crises situations. Decisions made in the presence of conflict and crises are sometimes made in response to the circumstances of the moment and subsequently such decisions are sometimes proven to be unwise. Labor history, as trade unionists know so well, provides the backdrop against which the circumstances of conflict and crises can be given the necessary element of perspective. In short, it slows down the decision-making process. The case in support of the relevance of labor history

was succinctly stated in Lloyd Ulman's classic work The Rise of the National Trade Union.

Apart from the satisfaction of one's natural curiosity concerning past events - history is surely its own excuse for being - understanding past situations can be of great value in facilitating understanding of the present. This proposition is none the less true for being trite, and it holds especially when the object of study has been subjected to environmental changes as dramatic as those experienced by the American Labor Movement in the past 20 years.

One usually has a better chance of inferring the existence of a logical relationship between a given attribute of an institution and a particular facet of its environment if the period of observation lies in the not-too-recent past. Then, armed with information concerning such a relationship, one can attack the present from one of two directions. Noting a change in the institution itself, one should be able to isolate certain environmental factors from the contemporary flux and ascribe to them particular significance for the problem involved. Or, noting a recent change in sign or value of one of the 'independent variables' in an historical relationship, one is alerted for possible change of a particular variety in the institution under examination. Thus, hindsight might aid in understanding the present - and such aid is not to be spurned, the availability of the modern social sciences notwithstanding.<sup>1</sup>

With respect to the second contribution, the trade union occupies a central role in the relationship in the sense that it functions as the advocate of change. It is the initiator. It is the agency which advocates changes in the system of setting forth terms and conditions under which people will be employed. Consequently, from the point of view of anyone associated with the labor-management relationship a thorough knowledge of how it thinks, why it thinks as it does, what it believes its role is - in short the dynamics and understanding of its behavior - are necessary prerequisites to any effective attempt to do business with it, to regulate it, to understand it, or even to gain advantage over it at the collective bargaining table.

Despite the near void of published studies in Canadian labor history in general and specifically studies of trade union philosophy, structure and government, students of the Canadian industrial relations system have drawn firm "conclusions" regarding the dynamics of trade union behavior. However, inasmuch as the field has not been systematically studied (indeed it is a barren waste land) these "conclusions", often formulated in the context of conflict and crises, are little more than hypotheses - a result possibly of the organic link between the Canadian and American trade union movements and the fact that most Canadian scholars have studied the American industrial relations scene and tend to look at the Canadian scene from the American perspective.

Several challenging hypotheses concerning trade union behavior have been offered in recent years by Canadian scholars. In some instances these hypotheses were formulated from observations made in the contemporary scene. In very few cases was there any systematic attempt to validate these hypotheses. As a result it should prove interesting to attempt to check out these theories against the record of the more distant past in order to determine whether the alleged conclusions are in fact historical constants or merely episodes in the unfolding relationship between labor and management.

#### The Role of Trade Union Philosophy

The scope of this study is limited to the evolution of the philosophy of the Canadian trade union movement between the years 1935 and 1967. From the point of view of those concerned with public policy (the regulation of the industrial relation system) it is not only logical

but also imperative that any systematic review of the industrial relations system of Canada include an examination of the evolution of the philosophy of the Canadian trade union movement. This examination is necessary for a number of reasons.

1. There is considerable evidence to suggest that many of the so-called contemporary "labor problems" involve a basic fundamental difference in the philosophies which guide the actions of labor, management, and government in the labor-management field. There appear to be fundamental differences on matters such as (a) the criteria to be used in the justification of wage increases, (b) the introduction of automation and technological change, (c) trade union methods and tactics, (d) employer defensive tactics, and (e) the rights of management. Hence, in any attempt to reduce or eliminate these differences, it is imperative that the position of the parties to these differences be fully explored. Many of these differences are the result of basic differences in philosophy.

2. A more complete and thorough knowledge of trade union philosophy should lead to not only a better understanding of labor's position on issues in the labor-management field, but also help to identify the direction and nature of change needed in order to establish a labor-management climate which is complementary to its philosophy.

3. It is often suggested that trade union philosophy is monolithic. That the trade union movement is of one philosophy. On the other hand, there is good reason to believe that trade union philosophy is not homogeneous, but heterogeneous, in that philosophy may differ sharply from one part of its structure to another. Should it be demonstrated

that there is indeed sharp differences in philosophy within the movement, those who are in a position to recommend changes are placed in somewhat of a dilemma. Which and whose philosophy should be recognized? If it is demonstrated that one component part is more affected by or interested in some element of philosophy, whose views should receive recognition? Since there is a possibility that the legislative framework of labor-management relations in Canada may be changed, it is important that these internal differences in trade union philosophies be identified.

4. The published literature on Canadian trade union philosophy seems to assume that, because of the organic link between the Canadian and American movements, they have adopted essentially the same philosophy. In addition, much of the present public policy was borrowed directly from the American jurisdiction, and as such, it also seems to assume an identical philosophy in the two countries. However, there is considerable evidence that the present philosophy may not be identical (if it ever was). In recent years the Canadian trade union movement has not only adopted policies which run counter to the American trade union philosophy, but also has adopted elements of philosophy that are uniquely Canadian. Hence, in recasting public policy, the identification of these differences would be most necessary in order to ensure that no incorrect assumptions on Canadian trade union philosophy were introduced.

Clearly, the objective sought in the industrial relations system is the accommodation of conflicting interests. The system must come up with results that all parties can live with. It follows from

this, that the system must take cognizance of the attitudes, values, and outlook of each party or interest. In short, the system must complement the labor-management philosophies of the parties and others who are affected by their relationship.

B. APPROACH AND METHODOLOGY USED IN THE STUDY

Approach

The objectives of this study were to (a) identify and elaborate on the character, content, and dimensions of Canadian trade union philosophy and (b) to determine the influence of trade union philosophy on the character and conduct of the Canadian labor-management relationship. It seeks to identify the forces that moulded this philosophy, and to isolate the influences shaping its evolution during the period under review. It seeks to draw conclusions dealing with not only the evolutionary character of trade union philosophy, but also its present character.

With respect to the first objective, the central thrust of the study is centered on the formulation and articulation of Canadian trade union philosophy. The central questions examined include:

1. What is meant by trade union philosophy?
2. How is the philosophy of a trade union formulated?
3. Is this philosophy subscribed to by all components in the Canadian trade union structure - is there consensus?
4. On what subjects has the trade union movement expressed its philosophy? and,
5. To what extent does the philosophy emanate from the "soul" of the movement and to what extent does it emanate from the environmental situation within which the movement finds itself.

To uncover how trade union philosophy is formulated and to articulate it is not sufficient. It is necessary to determine the ways in which the philosophy manifests itself in the on-going labor-management

relationship. Here the central questions are:

1. In what ways does trade union philosophy affect trade union behavior?
2. To what degree is trade union behavior governed by its philosophy?
3. To what extent can our understanding of its philosophy be used to predict trade union behavior? and,
4. In what ways does the philosophy towards the relationship differ from that of the employer or of government - what are the central points of difference?

The Canadian trade union movement has definite and clearly articulated opinions on a wide variety and range of subjects ranging from comment on the economic system, Canadian society, through to the labor-management relationship itself. By its very nature it advocates change, resists the status quo and at every opportunity, whether invited to do so or not, assumes the role of the conscience and spokesman for Canadian trade unionists. It has attitudes towards the world around it, values to which it subscribes, and an outlook which distinguishes it from other Canadian institutions - certainly the other participants in the Canadian industrial relations system. It constantly assumes a questioning and critical stance. It is extremely aware of its environment and equally aware of events which take place in this environment.

In a recent paper Aranka Kovacs stated the observation this way:

. . . unionism is an institution which represents many complex and interrelated relationships resting not only on economic forces, but also on psychological, political, and social motivations. As an institution in society the trade union organization

alters with the changes occurring in a progressive nation - altering and adapting while at the same time acting on the direction and evolution of the structural society in which it exists and functions. That is, while the development of the trade union movement is affected by the social and political structure in which it is allowed to grow, as a social force it too is influential in shaping that environment, directly or indirectly, through its collective activities and policies.<sup>2</sup>

### Methodology

The field of labor history in general and trade union philosophy in particular is a difficult field to research because of the difficulty in developing completely satisfactory approaches to the problem and of incorporating the more rigorous research methodologies. Reed Tripp, a recognized labor economist, stated the issue this way.

In considering the intellectual basis for broad social movements, the structures of precise scientific method must obviously be strained. Such resources as interpretative analysis and even insight, with a test of reasonableness, must necessarily be involved.<sup>3</sup>

In the light of the limited time and manpower resources available and the general difficulty of the subject, it was decided to approach the problem through the well established but admittedly limited documentary research method. In using this approach, it was assumed that the data needed to draw valid conclusions would be contained in published records of Canadian trade union bodies, particularly their convention proceedings, journals, and papers. It should be noted that this approach does not easily lend itself to a rigorous empirical analysis. However, as noted below, some "empirical" techniques have been used.

Having established the approach to be used, the data were gathered and analyzed using the following steps and procedures:

1. Determination of labor bodies and publications to be examined. Primary attention was given to four national centers - Trades and Labor Congress of Canada (TLC), All-Canadian Congress of Labor (ACCL), Canadian Congress of Labor (CCL), and Canadian Labor Congress (CLC) - and eight international and national unions - Canadian Brotherhood of Railway, Transport and General Workers (CBRT), Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE), International Chemical Workers (ICW), International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers (MM), United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America (UE), United Packinghouse Workers of America (UPW), United Steelworkers of America (USW), and the United Automobile Workers (UAW).

The complete list of labor bodies, title of publications, and dates examined are given in Appendix A. The labor bodies examined included all national centers and a cross section of (a) international unions, (b) national unions, (c) district and local unions, and (d) unaffiliated labor press publishers. Primary publications examined included reports of convention proceedings, labor journals, labor papers, and numerous trade union published pamphlets and bulletins. In addition, several secondary sources proved of value and all of these are reproduced in the bibliography.

2. Determination of the location of the required publications and documents. Nearly all publications were obtained at the Federal Department of Labor Library, Ottawa. Most of the publications were on microfilm, the balance was available in the original form.

3. Selection and reproduction of documents from the publications

examined. Documents were selected during May to August 1966 by two qualified research assistants and were selected after a complete reading on the basis of their relevance to Canadian trade union philosophy. If their relevance was in doubt they were selected anyway. The final determination of relevance was left to the present author. Documents were produced from microfilm using a 3M microfilm reader printer. Documents were produced from original materials using a Xerox 2400 copy machine. The total number of documents obtained for classification and analysis exceeded 13,000 pages.

4. Classification of documents. The documents obtained were classified during September 1966 to May 1967. They were arranged in chronological order by labor body in accordance with the issue presented in Table I. This system was developed after examining classifications systems used in a number of United States trade union philosophy studies. In cases where the documents related to more than one issue the document was cross referenced.

5. Analysis of the documents. Documents were analyzed between June to September 1967 along two dimensions. First, the position taken by the labor body on the particular issue discussed in the document. Second, the frequency with which the labor body spoke out on the issue. The first dimension can be analyzed only in qualitative terms. In this regard the qualitative dimension, that is a statement of position, is reflected in the study by reference to the original material. However, with the aid of content analysis techniques the second dimension was analyzed in somewhat "empirical" terms. Using this technique it was possible to determine:

- (a) what labor bodies spoke out on what issues,
- (b) how frequently labor bodies spoke out on what issues,
- (c) through rank ordering, what issues received greatest attention by each labor body, and
- (d) a labor body's shift of emphasis from one issue or set of issues to another through time.

The report itself is divided into four parts. The first, continuing with Section C gives attention to the concept of trade union philosophy, formulates the operational concepts used in the study, and advances a number of general propositions underlying Canadian trade union philosophy.

Part II, comprising Sections D & E, presents and analyses the statistical results relating to the contribution of national centers and international/national unions to trade union philosophy. In addition, the history of the national centers and the international/national unions is set out in a brief overview.

Part III examines in some detail the philosophical controversy among the several national centers formed during the period under review. Section F compares the major philosophical differences between the TLC and ACCL. Section G directs attention to differences between the TLC and CCL. Several distinguishing aspects of CLC philosophy are outlined in Section H. Part IV presents at some length the philosophy of the Canadian trade union movement in terms of its content or position. Section I, focusing on internal issues, relates the representative philosophy in the areas of labor-management relations, labor and political action, and internal

trade union affairs. Section J, deals with the central issues in external philosophy, specifically social welfare and economic policy. The conclusions reached as a result of the preceding findings are dealt with in Section K.

C. THE CONCEPT OF TRADE UNION PHILOSOPHY

The history of trade union organization in Canada is largely the history of trade union organizations seeking an effective philosophical framework, and of adopting a structural form which gives practical day-to-day meaning to this framework. An effective philosophical framework in the sense that the philosophy defines not only the role that trade unionism is to assume in Canadian economic and social affairs, as well as the attitudes and values that labor holds in economic and social affairs, but also recognizes the economic and social realities that must be accommodated within the philosophy. An effective philosophical framework is one that produces results. Results in terms of labor's objectives of better wages, hours, working conditions, and legislation favorable to the interests of organized labor. To a very high degree, changes in philosophy represent a realization on the part of organized labor, or a portion of organized labor, that the existing philosophical framework is impotent and without results.

The term trade union philosophy is given different meanings by different writers. It is a somewhat difficult term to fully define and for this reason it may be wise to pause and examine it in more detail.

In this study, the term is used to describe the attitudes, values, and outlook of the movement on specific issues which, when taken together, tell us something of the way in which it not only views its role and function in the Canadian economic and social scene, but also tells us of its position on events which transpire within the economic and social scene. Note that trade union philosophy looks inward as well

as outward. In general terms, it looks inward to ask three fundamental questions: (a) What is the role of organized labor and what are its objectives? (b) What means or methods should be used to pursue these objectives? and, as a corollary, (c) What structure should be adopted in order to effectively advance this role, objectives, and method?

The answers to these three questions constitute the internal elements of trade union philosophy. It can be determined by identifying the attitude, values, and outlook of the movement on issues which are internal in nature. In a like manner, trade union philosophy looks outward to ask the question: Is the socio-economic climate in which we operate supportive of the objectives we seek? The answer to this question constitutes the external elements of trade union philosophy. It can be determined by examining the position of organized labor on the ever unfolding issues in the socio-economic scene in Canada.

More specifically, as a result of the work done in the study, it is possible (for analytical purposes) to classify the specific issues which have received the attention of the movement during the period under review into two main groups - internal issues or issues within the House of Labor, and external issues or issues relating to the economic and social setting within which labor must work. In turn, each of these two groups can be further classified. The complete classification is given in Table I.

In interpreting Table I the reader should not conclude that at any given time all of these issues were evident in trade union philosophy or that they were shown equal importance by all labor bodies. On the contrary, the strength or importance of each issue varied through time and from one labor body to another. At one point in time the internal

TABLE I

ISSUES IN CANADIAN TRADE UNION PHILOSOPHY, 1935-1967

<u>Internal Issues</u>	<u>External Issues</u>
1. Labor-Management Relations <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>a) Terms and conditions of employment</li><li>b) Right to organize</li><li>c) Right to bargain collectively</li><li>d) Right to strike</li><li>e) Right to picket</li></ul>	5. Social Welfare <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>a) Pensions</li><li>b) Unemployment insurance</li><li>c) Family allowances</li><li>d) Health insurance</li><li>e) Education</li><li>f) Workmen's compensation</li></ul>
2. Labor and Political Action	6. Economic Policy <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>a) Housing</li><li>b) International trade</li><li>c) Banking and credit institutions</li><li>d) Employment</li><li>e) Nationalization of industry</li><li>f) Income tax</li><li>g) Manpower development and utilization</li></ul>
3. Internal Trade Union Affairs <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>a) Structure of organized labor</li><li>b) Government of organized labor</li><li>c) Form of organization</li><li>d) Regulation of internal affairs</li></ul>	7. Structure of Government <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>a) The constitution</li><li>b) Parliament affairs</li><li>c) Decision making procedures</li></ul>
4. Regulation of Employer Practices <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>a) Regulation of prices and profits</li><li>b) Defense activities against unions</li></ul>	8. Foreign Affairs

category received major attention with little concern expressed over external issues. At other times it was the opposite. Also, within each of the two categories, the strength or importance of each issue varied through time. Looking at trade union philosophy in dynamic evolutionary terms one finds a sometimes slow or sometimes rapid shifting of emphasis from one issue to another in response to the ever unfolding developments within the House of Labor or the environment within which it operates.

Upon further examination, it became evident that most of the documents dealing with internal philosophy were from publications issued

by (a) national unions, (b) international unions (c) district and regional unions, and (d) local unions. On the other hand, the vast majority of documents relating to external philosophy were issued by (a) national centers, (b) provincial federations, and (c) local councils.

In the literature dealing with Canadian trade union structure, it is emphasized that certain parts of the structures serve particular functions. The findings here not only support this contention but extend the generalization to matters of philosophy and its formulation. It is clear that in internal matters such as (a) labor-management relations, (b) labor and political action, (c) internal trade union affairs, and (d) a regulation of employer practices, the philosophy relating to these issues is determined and expressed by the national and international unions. On the other hand, in matters which are external in nature such as (a) social welfare, (b) economic policy, (c) the structure of government, and (d) foreign affairs, the philosophy appears to be primarily determined and expressed by the national centers. Primarily in the sense that the national and internationals do influence, indeed formulate, the philosophy of the national center. On the other hand, seldom has the national center influenced the philosophy of the national and international unions. There is considerable evidence to conclude that in matters internal the national and international unions are autonomous. On the other hand, the national center ". . . is merely a creature of its affiliated organizations."<sup>4</sup>

In a very real sense, the Canadian trade union movement has quite clearly defined areas of philosophical jurisdiction. Over the period under review, 1935-1967, seldom have these jurisdictions been

breached.

It is indeed extremely difficult to separate Canadian trade union philosophy from Canadian trade union structure. They go hand in hand. The structure of the movement is the organizational manifestation of its philosophy. To change philosophy is to change its structure. To change structure is to change philosophy. Throughout most of the period under review (the exception being 1955-1967) the Canadian trade union movement operated under at least two structures and at least two philosophies.

Because of the multiplicity of structures and the philosophical jurisdictions within each structure (the degree of jurisdictions varied from one structure to another), it is difficult to talk in any meaningful way, of a single philosophy subscribed to by the "Canadian trade union movement."

Despite the very real possibility of differences on philosophy within a given trade union structure, the Canadian trade union movement has established fairly well-defined schools of philosophy. That is, within the structure there is agreement on the basics of the philosophy, and the structure stands united in its opposition to structures which represent an alternative school of philosophy. The internal differences are of a minor nature when compared with the differences between the two schools of trade union philosophy. In the latter case, differences focus on basic fundamental issues whereas in the former case differences focus on procedures, degree, or possibly implementation.

In terms of philosophy, the national trade union centers established between 1935 and 1967 reflect two primary schools of trade

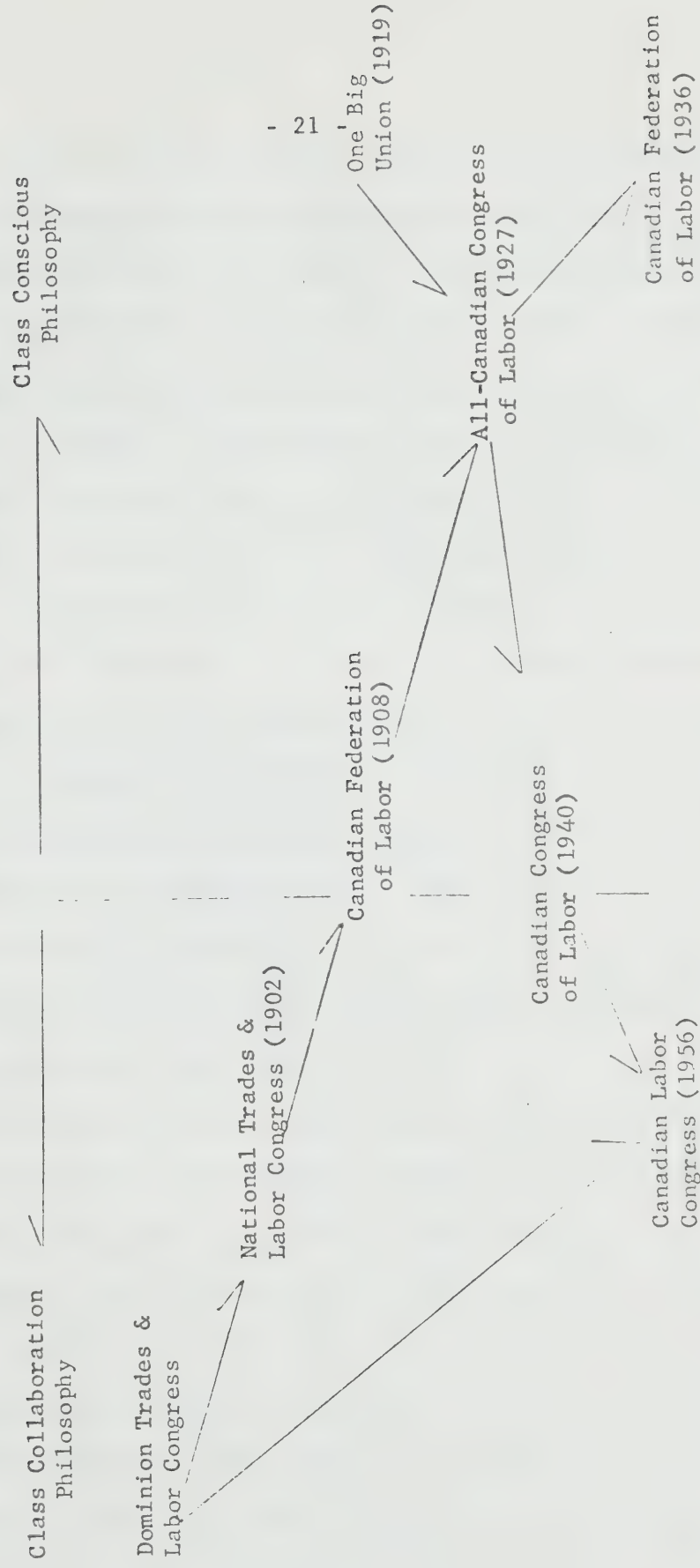
union philosophy - the class collaboration philosophy and the class conscious philosophy. That is, each center and its member affiliates had an affinity towards one school of philosophical thought over the other.

The philosophy of class collaboration is a philosophy of international trade unionism. It was this philosophy which was manifested in the Dominion Trades and Labor Congress of 1886, the international relationship, and it is the current philosophy of the Canadian Labor Congress. The philosophy of class consciousness was the philosophy of organizations that set themselves up in opposition to the philosophy of international trade unionism. Organizations such as the National Trade and Labor Congress, the All-Canadian Congress of Labor, the Canadian Federation of Labor, the One Big Union, and to some extent, the Canadian Congress of Labor. Chart 1 relates the major trade union structures to the two schools of philosophical thought.

The essential elements of these two opposing schools of trade union philosophy are not difficult to discern and are well documented in the proceedings and records of each organization. In broad terms, the major differences focused on: (a) the role of organized labor and its objectives, (b) the means or methods to be used in pursuit of its objectives and, as a corollary, (c) the structure to be adopted in order to effectively advance this role and method. Note that the focus of philosophical differences centered on what were earlier classified as internal elements of philosophy - role and methods. In matters external, the differences were one of degree rather than fundamentals. On most

CHART 1

Philosophical Position & the Evolution of Major Canadian  
Trade Union Structures



external issues, there was near or complete agreement on philosophy.

The philosophy of international trade unionism was the philosophy of class collaboration. It was this philosophy that emerged after great debate in the platform of the American Federation of Labor in 1886, and by the turn of the century was the predominant philosophy of the American Labor Movement. It was the philosophy of "pure and simple business unionism" and of "Gomperism." It was a philosophy that was arrived at after searching examination of other alternative positions.

The philosophy of class collaboration accepted not only the existing economic system, but also the form of government that went along with it. The role of the trade union movement was one of wringing improvements in wages, hours, and working conditions from reluctant American employers. It was a pragmatic philosophy, and cast the government's role in secondary terms. Its method was collective bargaining. Its weapon was the work stoppage. Its structure in turn was shaped to maximize its chosen method - organization within exclusive jurisdictions by crafts, surrender of local autonomy to the central body of the craft (the national or international trade union), internal government by constitution and bylaws, and the development of a "defense" or strike fund. It sought to organize workers wherever non-union labor or product met the competition of union labor or product. It emphasized solidarity of the craft or trade, and in matters of collective bargaining and the strike, the central organization of the craft or trade was given complete autonomy. To the national federation - the American Federation of Labor - fell the responsibilities for acting as a spokesman for all organized labor, and advancing labor's legislative cause

within the established political framework. It adopted an independent political stance. The cornerstone of this philosophy was self-centered self-help and sole reliance on the resources within the "House of Labor."

The philosophy of class consciousness trade unionism was diametrically opposed to the philosophy of the class collaboration. It was what class collaboration represented that class conscious trade unionism rejected. The following words drawn from a recently published class conscious interpretation of Canadian labor history serve to illustrate:

In the period under review, trade union progress demanded a fighting wage policy. Organization of the unorganized, unity, industrial and Canadian unionism, political action. Yet the dominant trade union officialdom in Canada, and its ally, U.S. international headquarters resisted. Why? One reason was class collaboration. Not the word or ideological trend, although it was a word and ideological trend. Not collective bargaining or legislative representations to governments, but something distinct: Subordinating movement's interest to reconciliation with the employers, settling for less than it was possible realistically to get.<sup>7</sup>

The philosophy of class conscious trade unionism rejected the acceptance of the existing economic and political systems. In their place, they advocated various degrees of reform ranging from direct worker control of the means of production, to direct worker representation in the existing economic and political system. In answer to the dictum of organization by crafts by a central union with exclusive jurisdiction, the philosophy called for a loose organization of all workers in an industry whether skilled or unskilled into one organization. It was a philosophy which placed great emphasis on the unity and solidarity of labor regardless of one's trade or calling. In terms of method, they placed less emphasis on

collective bargaining and the strike against the employer, and more emphasis on political action and the demonstration of labor solidarity through the general or industrial strike.

In Canada, the philosophy of class collaboration trade unionism - international trade unionism - was first introduced with the establishment of the Dominion Trades and Labor Congress of Canada in 1886. Through the years, with the rise of the CIO in the United States and the CCL here in Canada, the organization by craft element of the class collaboration philosophy was broadened to include organization by industry (semi-skilled and unskilled workers) although still within the context of the notion of exclusive jurisdiction. Today, the class collaboration philosophy represents the philosophy of all but a very small section of the Canadian Trade Union Movement. It is a philosophy which is subscribed to by national unions as well as international unions.

Just as the international trade union link has greatly influenced the structure of the movement, it has also greatly influenced the philosophy of the movement. It would be a great mistake to underestimate the influence of this organic link on philosophy formulation in Canada. To a very great extent, it has preempted the necessity of the movement to formulate a philosophy of its own.

During the period under review, the propriety of the presence of international trade union structure and philosophy occupied the central stage of Canadian labor's efforts at philosophy formulation. This presence also provided the issue over which elements within the movement set up alternative structures and alternative philosophies. While much of the

debate over this presence has generated more alarm and concern than the facts would justify, there can be little doubt that this presence has greatly contributed to the comparatively muted, elusive, halfhearted interest in philosophy shown by the Canadian movement when compared to the interest in philosophy of its American counterparts.

There are a number of reasons for this. First, more often than not, as one would expect, the attitudes, values, and outlook of an international union operating in Canada on a given issue are those of the international at large and, in most cases the debate and dialogue has preceded the raising of the issue in Canada. As a result, the attitudes, values, and outlook of the Canadian section are those which have been previously adopted by the international at large. With little effort, it can be demonstrated that most of the elements of philosophy of international unions in Canada were not the subject of debate in Canada, were not the subject raised in convention of Canadian sections, but were simply embraced by the sections almost as part of the process of affiliation.<sup>5</sup> We have then unions operating in Canada which have not formulated a philosophy but which have adopted a philosophy.

Second, the presence of internationals in Canada has also affected the degree to which national centers such as the CCL and TLC were able to contribute to the formulation of Canadian labor philosophy. The philosophy of the CCL and TLC could not deviate substantially from that of the internationals because of the overwhelming power that the internationals had in CCL and TLC policies and programs. There were several occasions when elements within the national center attempted

to independently formulate philosophy but, since it conflicted with standing international policy, it was prevented from doing so because of the threat of withdrawal by the internationals. As a result, unlike the national center of the United States - the AFL-CIO - a national center of Canada made up of locals of international affiliates is not as influential in determining the philosophy of the movement as a whole. The Canadian National Center, stripped of any effective means of moulding national philosophy had to limit its sphere of activity to other activities, such as its annual presentations to the provincial and federal governments. These activities, as the founding fathers cogently observed, did not conflict with the activities and programs of the international unions in Canada. In the United States, it was on the convention floor of the internationals and the AFL-CIO at which the philosophy of the movement was hammered out. It was this philosophy which was embraced by the international elements in Canada. As a result, Canadian labor bodies often found their convention agenda devoid of any issues which related to the philosophy of their respective organizations.

As a generalization, it can be said that the Canadian trade union movement, although at times quite reluctantly, has had to operate within the philosophy of international trade unionism. Attempts to operate outside of this philosophy could be done only at the risk of destroying the international relationship. In every case, and independent home grown Canadian trade union philosophy has had to yield to the international relationship. Having said this, it should also be pointed out that during the period under review there was some evidence that the

determination to establish an independent Canadian trade union philosophy has been growing while the international relationship has been weakening. This is particularly true at the present time.

In considering the philosophy of Canadian national centers, it must be realized that a national center is the creature of its affiliated organizations. That is, the national center is created from the bottom up. As a result, not only is the philosophy of the national center formulated by its affiliates, but also its role. The various national centers under review in this study represented affiliates which shared not only similar philosophies, but also similar ideas as to the role of a national center. In this sense then, the only true source of trade union philosophy is the national or international trade union and their locals. The philosophy of a national center is at best a reflection of the philosophy of this true source. In some cases, such as the TLC and CCL, affiliates were firmly committed to a common philosophy and a common national center role. In other cases, such as the ACCL, affiliates tended to be divided over philosophy and saw differing roles for the national center.



PART II

CONTRIBUTION OF NATIONAL CENTERS AND INTERNATIONAL/  
NATIONAL UNIONS TO PHILOSOPHY

D. EMPHASIS IN NATIONAL CENTER PHILOSOPHY

The National Centers

In terms of membership and collective agreements, the Canadian trade union movement of 1935 had come a long way from its origins in the 1840's. However, when left to its own devices, and before the aid of the membership and agreement building statutory dictum of compulsory collective bargaining, its growth and development in terms of membership, collective agreements, structure, and philosophy was troubled, cumbersome, irregular, and painfully slow.

Before its 10th birthday, the pains of a distorted structural growth and a divided philosophy foreshadowed recurring weaknesses which still plague it in the present day. From within the ranks of labor rose the question of political representation versus collective bargaining; of international trade unionism versus national trade unionism. For the next 36 years these two issues drained the strength of the infant structure seeking movement.

A century ago, when the Canadian economy was largely agricultural, and concentrations of population and industry were few, labor organization extended little beyond local units, despite the fact that a few labor unions were in existence in Canada as early as the 1820's. Today, union locals number more than 8,600, and most of their central organizations are affiliated with one of the two national centers of Canada - the Canadian Labor Congress, the larger, and the Confederation of National Trade Unions, which operates almost exclusively in Quebec.

Union membership is nearing two million and is widely dispersed industrially, occupationally, and geographically. About one in every four members of the labor force and about one in every three non-agricultural paid workers belong to the trade union movement.

A unique feature of the Canadian labor movement is its international character, and the growth of the union movement in this country has been greatly influenced by events and developments within the trade union movement of the United States. Although there have been several attempts in the past 100 years to "nationalize" the labor movement in Canada, only that part in the CNTU, a few national unions in the CLC, and a few independent unions have no international connection.

International trade unionism began in this country in the decade preceding confederation when unions operating in the U.S. began to form locals in Upper Canada. Not until 1873, after confederation, was an attempt made to form a national federation of unions. In that year, 30 local unions in Ontario formed the Canadian Labor Union. The CLU held conventions for several successive years, but the organization failed to thrive. But a Canadian Assembly organized in 1881 by the Knights of Labor, which had been established in the U.S. in 1869, was able to claim a membership of 16,000 by the end of the 1880s. The Knights organized workers regardless of trade or occupation.

In 1886, still searching for structure and philosophy, the Canadian movement established its legislative watchdog the Dominion Trades and Labor Congress of Canada. In 1893 it became the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, a body that existed under that name for the next 63 years. The

Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, created in the image and shadow of the American Federation of Labor but with much more limited powers, and born at the height of the controversy over international trade unionism, precipitated the inevitable question of dual jurisdictions. The debate continued. Finally, overwhelmed by AFL sentiment, the TLC convention of 1903 acceded to the Berlin Declaration:

(The TLC) shall form organizations in localities where none at present exist into local unions, but in no case shall any body of workingmen belonging to any trade or calling at present having an international or national union be granted a charter. In the event of the formation of an international or national union of the trade or calling of the unions so chartered being formed, it shall be the duty of the proper officer of the Congress to see that the said union becomes a member of said international or national union. Provided that not national union be recognized, where an international union exists.<sup>8</sup>

Out went the dualist and with their ouster came the parade of Canadian nationalists - the National Trades and Labor Congress, the Canadian Federation of Labor, and the All-Canadian Congress of Labor - until finally in the late 1930's the nationalist battle cry of "Canada for the Canadians" was lost in the ever popular appeal of "Industrial Unionism" and its servant the Canadian Congress of Labor.

Another notable separation from the mainstream of international trade unionism occurred in 1919 when a group objecting to the emphasis on craft unionism in the TLC, and advocating more direct political action in preference to legislative submissions, formed the One Big Union. This labor body sought to organize by industry rather than by trade. It gained prominence after the Winnipeg General Strike of 1919, at which time it claimed a membership of 41,500. But it soon began to decline, and at the

time of its entry into the Canadian Labor Congress in 1956 had only 6,000 members.

In 1927, dissidents from the recently expired Canadian Federation of Labor joined with the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Employees and the remnants of the One Big Union to form the All-Canadian Congress of Labor. The CBRE had been expelled from the TLC in 1921 on the ground that it was dual to the International Brotherhood of Railway Clerks and Freight Handlers. Its leadership, notably A. R. Mosher and M. M. MacLean believed conditions to be right for the formation of a new center which was broadly based, and offered more positive appeals than the negatively oriented Canadian Federation of Labor.

At its first convention held in March, 1927 in Montreal, eleven labor bodies were represented and 47 of the 93 delegates were drawn from the CBRE. Fifteen of the delegates were from five organizations which had seceded from their respective internationals. The balance was drawn from relatively small and widely scattered national labor bodies. The stated purpose of the new organization was to promote the interest of its affiliated organizations and strive to improve the economic and social condition of labor by (a) the organization of workers in autonomous bodies for economic action, that is organizations in the industrial field, (b) assisting the workers through education to realize the necessity of working class political action, and (c) furthering such legislation as would be of immediate benefit to the workers and which tended to increase their social and political power. In order to further these ends, the Congress proposed to affiliate national unions and charter directly

independent local unions and labor councils composed of delegates from national or independent local unions affiliated to or chartered by the Congress.

The emphasis placed by the ACCL on organization was the result of the strong belief that the TLC had "failed in its duty to the Canadian workers in this respect." The new Congress was not only to support affiliates in their own organization efforts, but was to have its own direct responsibility in the field of organizational activity.

It should be noted that the ACCL was made up of labor bodies which had widely differing outlooks and widely differing expectations on policies and programs. Some emphasized radical political reform or revolution. Others emphasized the blend of constitutional political change and legislative reform within a framework of collective bargaining. The more radical bodies such as the OBU and the Mine Workers of Canada never fully found the organization to their liking. More often than not, political tensions were more a part of conventions than the practical promotion of day to day trade unionism. In 1936, the existence of uncompromising philosophies and personal conflicts resulted in an attempt by a portion of the leadership to seize the organization in the name of the more militant groups. However, this attempt failed and the more militant groups were perged and subsequently re-established the Canadian Federation of Labor.

However, the Great Depression arrived soon after the birth of the ACCL. Its membership went into a decline, as did that of the TLC, and union membership did not pick up again till after 1935.

In that year, the Wagner Act was passed in the United States. The Act protected labor's right to join unions and to bargain collectively with employers. Six leading industrial unions in the AFL formed the Committee for Industrial Organization and began to organize workers in mass production industries. In Canada, agitation grew for legislation similar to the Wagner Act. Unions belonging to the Committee for Industrial Organization lent assistance to similar Canadian organizing efforts. In 1936, the AFL suspended and in the following year expelled the unions which had formed the Committee on the grounds that they were fostering dual unionism. They then set up a new central organization, the Congress of Industrial Organizations. The TLC avoided a similar split in its ranks until 1939. In that year its executive came to the conclusion that it could no longer ignore the dual unionism advocated by the CIO unions and the Canadian branches of the CIO unions were expelled from the TLC.

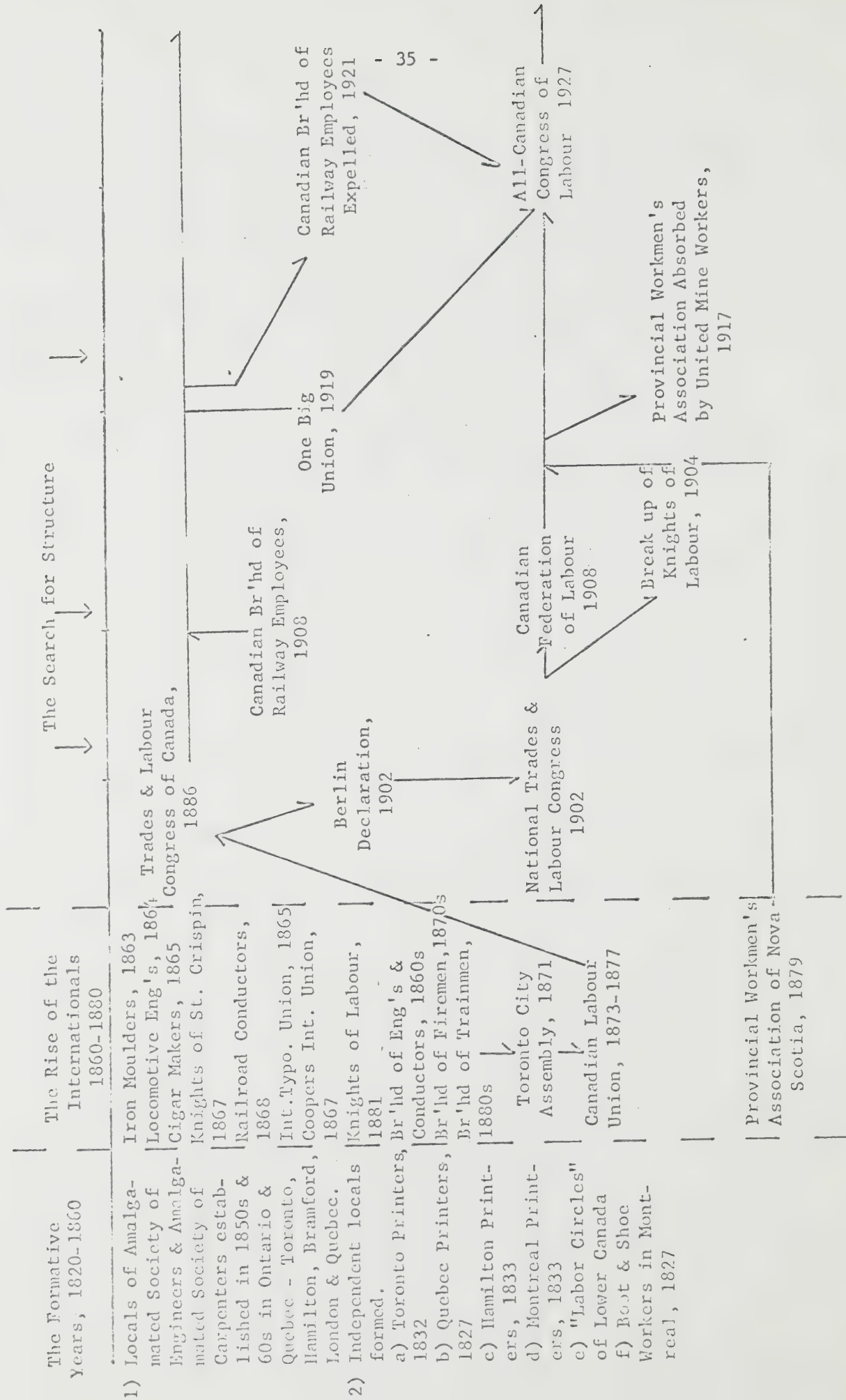
The All-Canadian Congress of Labor, its strength weakened after the general decline in union membership during the depression, and after the defection in 1936 of a group of unions who left to form a new Canadian Federation of Labor, saw new hope for its policy of industrial unionism. In 1940, it joined with the expelled CIO unions to form the Canadian Congress of Labor.

Apart from a deep commitment to industrial trade unionism, the CCL philosophy differed from the TLC in (a) less dependence on the international structure, and hence less participation from abroad, (b) less concern for dual unionism, and hence a more open organization than the TLC, (c) a more

aggressive and positive political action program, and (d) an aggressive role in organization. In addition to a group of small Canadian unions, the CCL brought together unions such as the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Employees, United Mine Workers of America, Steelworkers Organization Committee, United Automobile Workers of America, United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers of America, United Packinghouse Workers of America, International Union of Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers, and the International Woodworkers of America.

Chart 2 outlines the evolution of Canadian national center structure from its origins in the 1870s to 1935.

# Structural Evolution of Canadian Trade Union Movement to 1935



Contribution of National Centers to Philosophy

The evolution of the philosophy of Canadian trade union bodies since 1935 can best be described as the shifting of emphasis from one issue to another as developments unfolded within the House of Labor and within the economic and social scene of Canada. For the large part, subsequent differences in philosophy arose as variations on the central themes which provided the differences of 1935. At various times these differences were sufficiently great that they prompted the establishment of alternative trade union structures.

In an attempt to determine (a) the class of issues in philosophy which received greatest attention by the four national centers, that is what centers spoke out on what class of issues, (b) the frequency of comment, (c) the shift in emphasis from an issue or set of issues through time, and (d) the specific issues within each class that received greatest attention by each body, the material contained in the documents was measured in quantitative terms using recognized content analysis techniques. The results give useful measures of the efforts devoted by each center to matters of trade union philosophy.

The figures shown represent orders of magnitude only, and reflect the effort devoted to each class of issue as measured by a composite of (a) time devoted to the issue in convention, (b) space devoted to the issue in proceedings, and (c) space devoted to the issue in journals and labor papers.

Statistics presenting the amount of emphasis placed on internal and external philosophical issues by each national center since 1935 are given in Table II.

TABLE II

PERCENT OF EFFORT DEVOTED TO INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL  
ISSUES BY NATIONAL CENTERS, 1935-1966

	National Center		
	Trades and Labor Congress of Canada	All-Canadian Congress of Labor/Canadian Congress of Labor	Canadian Labor Congress
Internal Issues:			
1. Labor-Management Relations	25%	16%	13%
2. Labor and Political Action	5%	6%	13%
3. Internal Trade Union Affairs	10%	20%	22%
4. Regulation of Employer Practices	<u>7%</u>	<u>3%</u> 45%	<u>3%</u> 51%
External Issues:			
5. Social Welfare	16%	14%	20%
6. Economic Policy	28%	27%	26%
7. Structure of Government	4%	4%	-
8. Foreign Affairs	<u>5%</u>	<u>10%</u> 55%	<u>3%</u> 49%
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

The following observations drawn from Table II are of importance.

1) Both the TLC and ACCL/CCL devoted the greater effort to external issues in philosophy.

2) The CLC devoted most effort to internal issues. This shift in emphasis since the merger is the result of deep concern within the CLC over internal issues in philosophy. This concern is to be contrasted with earlier national centers.

3) In the external category, both the TLC and ACCL/CCL not only devoted similar efforts to each issue, but also the issue of economic policy received much greater attention than the other three.

4) In the internal category, the TLC and ACCL/CCL devoted quite different efforts to the issues of labor-management relations and internal trade union affairs. In the case of the TLC, the issue which received greatest attention was labor-management relations whereas, in the case of the ACCL/CCL, the corresponding issue was internal trade union affairs.

5) In the external category, the CLC like the TLC and ACCL/CCL, devoted greatest effort to the issue of economic policy. However, it has increased its efforts in the area of social welfare above the levels of the TLC and the ACCL/CCL.

6) In the internal category, the issue of internal trade union affairs has received the greatest attention by the CLC. (Much greater than the TLC and slightly greater than the ACCL/CCL). More effort has been devoted to labor and political action while the effort spent on labor-management relations has declined from the TLC (greatly) and the ACCL/CCL (slightly) levels.

While it is quite easy to identify events and situations which precipitated expressions of philosophy on external matters, the same cannot be said for matters internal in nature. In the latter category, philosophy appears to have been propelled more by the changing thinking and values of the trade union movement's leadership rather than by any specific event or situation. For example, it is difficult to assign the formation of the ACCL or the CCL to any particular event in labor history. In addition, it must be remembered that in matters internal there were many long standing and deep rooted differences. It appears that the repeated break-up in the movement was a result of its inability to develop a philosophy and structure which would accommodate all views and positions within the House of Labor. In this sense, the philosophy and structure of the Canadian movement has been narrow and inflexible and this has led to the balkanization of its structure and philosophy. You either subscribe to the laid down thinking or you are out!

While it is not possible to accurately portray the evolution of trade union philosophy in terms of events or situations which could be called "turning points," it is possible to break the period under study into six quite clearly defined periods of distinct emphasis in matters of trade union philosophy.

The first of these periods, Economic Depression, ended with the year 1935. During this period, differences between the class collaboration and the class conscious philosophy over external issues were most sharply articulated and emphasized the plight of the working class during the Great Depression. Issues external, such as economic policy, particularly

banking and credit institutions, employment, nationalizing of industry, and the income tax were foremost in the minds of the movement. In the area of social welfare, the issues of unemployment insurance, and family allowances received greatest attention. The internal issues of labor and political action and internal trade union affairs, as in all six periods, received its share of attention although, as one would expect, matters external in nature were more characteristic of this period.

The second period, the Period of Reaction, covered the years 1936-1939. It was a period of aggressive trade union action in terms of work stoppages, of extending organization, of increased interest in political action, and of concern over developments in the field of foreign affairs. It was a period in which most differences in philosophy focused on internal issues.

The third period, World War II, covering the years 1940-1945, was a period of hiatus in Canadian trade union philosophy. The beginning of this period saw the formation of the Canadian Congress of Labor and with it the sharp expansion of organization and membership. It was a period of intense activity in the field of labor-management relations and the advancement of supporting legislation. Although it was a period of relative quiet on the philosophy front, this third period was a period that emphasized internal issues within labor philosophy.

The years 1946-1950 have been labelled the Period of Adjustment and again focused primarily on internal issues. It was a period of heavy work stoppages and much concern for communist activities within the Canadian trade union movement.

The fifth period has been identified as the period of Moves to Labor Unity and covers the period 1951-1955. It represents a period during which the philosophical differences between the two competing trade union structures, the TLC and CCL, were gradually eliminated making possible an uneasy merger. It was a period that set the scene for the subsequent period.

The sixth and last period has been called the Era of the CLC. It is a period which runs from 1956 to the present day. It represents a time, following upon the merger, of deep concern over the existing trade union structure and philosophy and the ability of the movement to advance in the face of the ever changing panorama of the Canadian economic and social scene. It was a time of a searching reappraisal of the role and function of organized labor in Canada.

The amount of emphasis placed on the two classes of issues for each period by each of the national centers since 1935 is indicated in Table III. Like the statistics given in Table II, they are orders of magnitude only and reflect the effort devoted to each class of issue as measured by a composite of (a) time devoted to the issue in convention, (b) space devoted to the issue in proceedings and (c) space devoted to the issue in journals and labor papers.

The following are the particularly noteworthy observations drawn from Table III.

- 1) In all periods but two (Period of Reaction and World War II) the TLC placed greatest effort on external issues.

TABLE III

PERCENT OF EFFORT DEVOTED TO INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL ISSUES  
IN EACH PERIOD BY NATIONAL CENTERS, 1935-1966  
(DIRECTION OF CHANGE IN EFFORT NOTED BY  $\longleftrightarrow$ )

Period	National Centers					
	Trades and Labor Congress of Canada Internal External Total	All-Canadian Congress of Labor Internal External Total	Canadian Congress of Labor Internal External Total	Canadian Labor Congress Internal External Total		
1. Economic Depression -1935	30% $\longleftrightarrow$ 70% 100%	53% $\longrightarrow$ 47% 100%	- - -	- - -		
2. Period of Reaction 1936-1939	55% $\longleftrightarrow$ 45% 100%	29% 71% 100%	- - - $\longleftrightarrow$	- - -		
3. World War II 1940-1945	63% $\longrightarrow$ 37% 100%	- - -	34% 66% 100% $\longleftarrow$	- - -		
4. Period of Adjustment 1946-1950	38% $\longleftrightarrow$ 62% 100%	- - -	41% 59% 100% $\longleftrightarrow$	- - -		
5. Moves to Labor Unity 1951-1955	39% 61% 100%	- - -	41% 59% 100%	- - -		
6. Era of the C.I.C. 1956-1966	- - -	- - -	- - -	51% $\longleftarrow$ 49% 100%		

2) In all periods but one (Economic Depression) the ACCL/CCL placed greatest effort on external issues.

3) In periods 1, 2, and 3 the emphasis placed on each category by the TLC and the ACCL/CCL differed substantially.

4) In periods 4 and 5, the emphasis placed on each category by the TLC and the CCL were nearly identical. In part, this similarity reflects the development of conditions prerequisite to merger.

5) Shifts in emphasis from one period to another are apparent in all national centers. In only one period (World War II) was the shift of the TLC and the ACCL/CCL in the same direction.

6) While the effort devoted to the two classes of issues by the TLC and the CCL was nearly identical immediately prior to the merger, (Moves to Labor Unity) there was a sharp shift in favor of the internal issues subsequent to the merger. This again indicates the preoccupation of the CLC with internal issues and is to be contrasted again with earlier national centers.

Table IV and V list in rank order the fifteen specific issues in order of effort devoted to them by the TLC/CLC and the ACCL/CCL. The following observations are of interest.

1) In the case of the TLC/CLC, eight of the fifteen related to external issues in philosophy. In the case of the ACCL/CCL, the corresponding figure was ten.

2) The external issue of "improvement in the social security package" topped the list in both cases.

TABLE IV

RANK ORDER OF EFFORT DEVOTED TO SPECIFIC ISSUES  
BY TRADE AND LABOR CONGRESS AND CANADIAN LABOR CONGRESS  
1935 - 1966

<u>Issues</u>	<u>Frequency</u>
1. Improvements in social security program	(21)
2. Need for national housing scheme and slum clearance	(14)
3. Tax relief for low income earners	(11)
4. Criticism re wartime cost of living index and wage/price controls	( 9)
5. Urged collective bargaining for employees of the Crown	9
6. Urged controls on immigration	( 9)
7. Urged aggressive programs to remedy unemployment	( 8)
8. Two weeks holiday with pay each year	7
9. Specific declaration re wages, houses, and working conditions	7
10. Legalize right to organize and bargain collectively	6
11. Trade union movement to be politically independent	6
12. Declaration against and/or expulsion of communist led trade unions	6
13. Abolish use of injunctions in labor disputes	6
14. Urged nationalization of banking and credit institutions	( 5)
15. Urged changes to Workmen's Compensation Act	( 5)

( ) External Issue

TABLE V

RANK ORDER OF EFFORT DEVOTED TO SPECIFIC ISSUES  
BY ALL-CANADIAN CONGRESS OF LABOR AND CANADIAN  
CONGRESS OF LABOR, 1935 - 1955

<u>Issues</u>	<u>Frequency</u>
1. Improvement in social security program	(14)
2. Legalize right to organize and bargain collectively	13
3. Need for national housing scheme and slum clearance	(12)
4. Endorsed CCF party as political area of trade union movement in Canada	9
5. Issued call for labor unity	8
6. Criticism re wartime cost of living index and wage/price controls	( 8)
7. Tax relief for low income earners	( 6)
8. Expressed strong position re Canadian foreign policy	( 6)
9. Pledge co-operation to destroy Nazis and Facists	( 5)
10. Expressed support for consumer and producer co-operatives	( 4)
11. Amend B.N.A. Act to strengthen role of federal government	( 4)
12. Declaration against racial or other form of discrimination	( 4)
13. Declaration against and/or expulsion of communist led trade unions	4
14. Strongly opposed to amalgamation of railways	( 4)
15. Canadian trade union structure to be national and industrial	3

( ) External Issue

3) In the case of the ACCL/CCL, three of the top five related to internal issues whereas in the case of the TLC/CLC only one internal issue ranked in the top five. This again suggests the greater involvement of the ACCL/CCL in internal issues.

4) Seven specific issues were common to both groups and in six cases their positions were essentially the same. In the case of the seventh (political representation) their positions were directly opposite. Four issues related to external and three related to internal issues. Of the remaining eight, the ACCL/CCL had three which related to structure of government and foreign affairs, whereas the TLC had none; two to economic policy and one to social welfare. In the case of the TLC, the remaining eight issues were distributed as follows: labor-management relations, three, whereas the ACCL/CCL had none; economic policy, three, social welfare one; and regulation of employer practices one, whereas the ACCL/CCL had none.

E. EMPHASIS IN INTERNATIONAL/NATIONAL UNION PHILOSOPHY

The study and examination of the philosophy of international and national trade unions centered on two national and six international organizations. The selection of these unions was a difficult task recognizing that there are over 160 unions of this type operating in Canada. However, several criteria were set down which the group of eight unions collectively were required to meet in the hope that they would be representative.

First, the unions should represent organizations which strongly supported one side or the other of the national center philosophical split noted earlier in Part II. Second, at least one of the national unions should have a long history with at least one having a short history. Third, within the international union group the several variations of international trade union philosophy should be represented. Fourth, the unions should be selected from major Canadian industries and, collectively, should represent the largest group of Canadian trade unionists possible. Last, consideration had to be given to the availability of documents which articulated elements within the philosophy of that particular union.

The Unions Selected and Their History<sup>46</sup>

The national unions selected for study were the long-established Canadian Brotherhood of Railway, Transport and General Workers (CBRT)

and more recently formed Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE). The former organization claimed jurisdiction in the Canadian railroads, the latter unchallenged by any international, in the rapidly growing field of municipal public employment. The CBRT was an active participant in the national center controversy and through the years developed an articulate and prolific labor press.

The international unions included the American Federation of Labor affiliate, the International Chemical Workers' Union (ICW), and the fiery Western Federation of Miners' offspring, the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers (MM). During most of the period under review, Mine Mill found itself outside the main stream of Canadian trade unionism, either international or national. The ICW operated in a wide variety of Canadian chemical based industries whereas Mine Mill worked almost exclusively in the hardrock mining and smelting field. The other international unions included The United, Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers of America (UE), United Packinghouse Workers of America (UPW), United Steelworkers of America (USW), and the United Automobile Workers (UAW). The publications of each of the unions examined in the study are given in Appendix A.

The Canadian Brotherhood of Railway, Transport and General Workers was one of the two unions claiming jurisdiction over clerks, freight handlers, and various station service people on Canadian railroads. The other was the Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express, and Station Employees. The former was a national union whereas the latter was an international organization.

TABLE VI  
CHARACTERISTICS OF THE INTERNATIONAL & NATIONAL  
UNIONS SELECTED

<u>Union</u>	<u>Affiliation</u>	<u>Industry</u>	<u>Present Membership</u>	<u>Established in Canada</u>
CBRT	CCL	Railroads	33,500	1908
CUPE	CLC	Public Employment	89,400	1963
ICW	AFL/TLC	Chemicals	15,300	
MM	CCL	Metal Mining	15,000	1937
UE	CIO/CCL	Electrical Apparatus	10,500	1936
UPW	CIO/CCL	Meat Packing	25,000	1940
USW	CIO/CCL	Steel	120,000	1936
UAW	CIO/CCL	Automobiles	96,800	1936

During the period under study (until the formation of CUPE) the CBRT was the largest single national union. It was organized in Moncton in the year 1908 and for many years its leadership was in the hands of A.R. Mosher and M.M. McLean. In 1917 it affiliated with the TLC and at the same time relocated its headquarters from Halifax to Ottawa. As will be noted below, it was subsequently expelled from the TLC and went on to become a ranking and influential affiliate of the ACCL and the CCL.

The rival to the CBRT, the Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express, and Station Employees, was an international with a long history of AFL and TLC affiliation. It was

founded in 1898 but did not extend its operations to Canada until the year 1917. At that time it began to take great interest in the still unorganized Canadian Pacific Railway. The international, having entered the field, sought by virtue of its AFL affiliation to take over the CBRT. Subsequent negotiations between the two organizations produced little results. The TLC entered the foray as a mediator, but, in 1921 the international demanded and achieved the expulsion of the CBRT. In 1927, the CBRT joined with others to form the ACCL and still later the CCL. During the years under review, the international drew most of its support from the CPR while the CBRT gained its support from employees on the government operated system.

Trade union organization in Canada's mining industry is confined almost to two international unions - The United Mine Workers of America and The International Union of Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers. Until 1916, the latter was known as the Western Federation of Miners.

Although the WFM had been active in earlier years in the Western Coal Fields of Canada it was not until 1935 that it became an active force within the Canadian trade union movement. Now, with a new name, new leadership, and supporting the CIO, and attracted by the development of copper and nickel mining and smelting it re-entered Canada, its chief concern being the operations of the giant International Nickel Company. By 1938 the Union claimed branches in Timmins, Kirkland Lake, and Flin Flon Manitoba, as well as six branches in British Columbia. Its membership stood at 50,000, 4,000 of whom were Canadians. Its efforts to organize the plants of International Nickel

and to obtain recognition proved complete failures in the face of strong and often violent company opposition. It was not until 1943 that the union, supported by legislation compelling recognition and collective bargaining, obtained an agreement covering the companies operations at Sudbury. In 1944 agreements were obtained at Port Colburn and at the Consolidated Smelters at Trail, B.C. By 1944 it claimed a total membership of 100,000 with a Canadian membership of 12,500 distributed among its two Canadian districts.

In spite of its progress and accomplishments during the war years, the MM could scarcely be called one of the mature and stable unions under examination. On the contrary, it has had a stormy history and much of its efforts have been dissipated through internal internecine strife and often violence.

Harold Logan writing in 1948 summed it up quite nicely:

The experience of several years, very favourable to the industry economically, indicates that the miners, divided by race, individualistic in outlook, and with an impatient tradition, are not likely in the whole situation as it exists to make good material for bargaining. At present the leaders are divided on political issues which bodes ill for the years ahead especially as the positions taken reflect probably deeply grounded differences among the rank and file.<sup>47</sup>

The electrical goods manufacturing industry of Canada is centered in two giant corporations - Canadian General Electric and Canadian Westinghouse. In order to appreciate the industrial relations system of this industry one needs to keep in mind that (a) it is dominated by a few monopolistic companies, (b) possesses heavy investments in equipment and small labor cost per unit of output, (c) a desire by the companies to

control technological change to their own interests and (d) a sales reliance on the use of trademarked products. It is an industry which in no way senses a need for trade unions to stabilize the market and has firms strong enough to keep them out. Welfare schemes and plant councils have been fostered in the past and in some cases independent unions were used and valued. The entry of trade unions was fought hard by the companies and even now their acceptance is limited. In taking this negative stand company spokesmen frequently cite the alleged leftist leanings of the union leadership.

The United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers of America began in 1936 as part of the CIO movement along with organizations in steel, automobiles, and rubber. As with automobiles, the workers in the great electrical plants had an earlier experience with AFL/TLC unionism, as represented by the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers and directly chartered bodies. As in steel, they experienced a brief period of employee representation plans. The major achievement of the union, both in Canada and the United States, was its ability to hold under collective agreement the several plants of Canadian General Electric and Canadian Westinghouse.

Following the formation of the UE in 1936, the Buffalo Vice President was made responsible for Canadian operations. Its earlier successes, were short-lived. Though some small plants were organized both CGE and Westinghouse refused to sign agreements. When Westinghouse fired the union leadership the Hamilton local collapsed. Not until 1942 did the tide turn, and when it did the change was most dramatic.

The reasons for this are not difficult to identify. First, C.S. Jackson a key element in the union leadership was released from jail after being incarcerated for participating in a legal strike in 1941 at the Lansdowne Plant of CGE. Second, the International made funds available. Third, the general upward direction of war production, in this case small arms. Fourth, the entry of the Soviet Union into the war on June 22, 1941. As a result, the policy of the union was redirected from disruption to all out war production and even a straight offer of a no strike pledge. By the end of 1944, and with the aid of the principles of PC1003 it represented upwards of 25,000 members.

With the end of hostilities the UE abandoned its commitment to labor management co-operation and on the bargaining front returned to the use of coercive tactics to reach its objectives. In fact, it ranks as one of the more militant performers in labor relations affairs. Like other unions lead by young "Leftist" leaders, it trained its peoples interests on political objectives and developed loyalties on that basis.

The Canadian meat packing industry because of frequent periods of abnormal demand such as 1918-20 and 1942-45 finds itself in a generally over developed condition. This condition has had a pronounced effect on its labor relations policy, its behaviour, and the behaviour of its unions. Seasonal change follows a regular pattern according to both raw material supplies and the consumption habits of people. Employment is lowest in the spring and summer and heaviest in November and December. Cyclical change though marked is in no way equal to that in the capital goods industries. Demand for products is relatively

inelastic with respect to price as is also the short run supply of materials - livestock - maturing and reaching market from the farmers. The workers are of many ethnic groups and of both sexes. In the big plants the division of labor is worked out in great detail, which results in the use of much semi-skilled and unskilled labor and the susceptibility to speeding on the belt line. The skilled butchers and meat cutters nevertheless continue to play their important part and constitute one-third of all production workers.

The CIO creation for the packinghouse industry, the Packinghouse Workers Organizing Committee (PWOC, it became the United Packinghouse Workers of America in 1943) entered Canada in 1940 when it organized two locals in Toronto. Earlier there had been an organization of the skilled workers in this industry - the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen (AFL).

In 1940 C.H. Millard as general representative of the CIO for its various unions in Canada became Director of the PWOC. But foremost in actual organization and in soliciting international support was Fred Dowling, who in due course was named organizer. Meanwhile the TLC was not ready to give over its prospect in the industry without some effort to hold it. At its 1940 convention it announced as its representative in Canada the Packinghouse Butchers and Allied Food Workers Union. It failed however to invest enough funds in the venture to sustain the competition. When it found the PWOC drawing away its members and leaders, it suggested its locals look to the AFL international in the field which in turn, apparently, also failed to give support.

Accomplishments of the PWOC were for a time modest enough but by the fall of 1942 it had thirteen branches. At this juncture it added two Western organizers one of whom, John Lenglet became research director. By the close of 1943 it had ten branches in the West and in 1944 it consolidated its position by adding locals in the Maritime Provinces which brought it up to thirty-five branches and 15,000 members.

Organization in the industry has been influenced, for the most part unfavourably at the recognition stage, by the presence of employee representation systems, profit sharing, and various welfare arrangements that were sponsored, after the demise of the older AFL Union, by the great companies, especially Canada Packers Limited. The industry lends itself well to group activity whether of this type or industrial unionism. The workers of the big companies, largely Eastern Europeans in origin, lived together, worked together, and tended to resort to the same types of recreation.

In 1946, following a pattern developed in the United States a master agreement of the big three companies - Canada Packers Limited, Swift Canadian Company Limited, and Burns and Company - was signed. Although not as specific on all points as union standards might hope for, it provided for uniform seniority, grievance arrangements, and the check-off. With the smaller companies the union leans towards individual agreements but they are arranged to mature at the same time as the master agreement. Altogether the achievement in collective bargaining by the UPW is well regarded in trade union circles.

With the rise of the CIO in the United States attention to

organizing the steel industry soon spread to Canada as a part of the general emphasis on all out organization. Silby Barret, international board member for the UMWA was appointed by that organization in the fall of 1936 to lead the SWOC attack.

Supported by the new Nova Scotia Trade Unions Act it was able to obtain recognition to the extent of establishing contacts for discussion of grievances and to report that both Sydney and Trenton Mills, as well as the Eastern Car Company of New Glasgow, had practically full membership by 1937. But contrary to expectation, legislation left it still unable to get an agreement. They failed over a four year period to achieve a collective agreement in spite of all efforts to press bargaining negotiations. Only in the fall of 1940 did the union get its first signed agreement with Dosco.

Meanwhile, the SWOC was gesturing at organizing steel workers elsewhere in Canada. As early as 1936 it sent in from Pittsburgh an organizer to attempt the task of organizing the Steel Company of Canada at Hamilton. In the Summer of 1937, after limited success, Silby Barret of the Nova Scotia Field was named by President Philip Murray to be Director for all of Canada. The response, however, was meager and the going hard.

More promising, however, was the situation at Algoma. There an independent union had been operating successfully for some time and as a result Director Barret set out in December 1938 with the idea of bringing it ultimately into the SWOC. Though confronted with considerable distrust of internationalism as a result of the member's

experience with the Amalgamated and the AFL and also their sharp dislike of radical tendencies in SWOC, the venture finally succeeded. It took, however, the best part of two years to complete it, during which time the communist elements had been subordinated. Thus, Algoma and Sydney were brought together by common action and 3,000 members were added to SWOC.

Organization in steel took a definite turn in 1940. A number of circumstances contributed to this but most prominent were the increased demand for labor in the steel mills and factories, interest in keeping production moving, increased financial support thrown into the Canadian field by the newly constituted international, and finally the appointment of C.H. Millard as Director with the understanding that his was the responsibility to build up an organization that would appeal to the Canadian Steelworker and bring the various elements into line.

The reorganization instituted in 1940 involved a new alignment of powers and responsibilities between the Canadian office and continental headquarters. It represented a milestone in international developments in North American labor. So enlarged was the Canadian functioning and leadership that the arrangement may almost be called a national union within an international. While the international makes all constitutional changes and formulates policies in matters affecting the whole membership, the Canadian division is free to make and operate its own wage and bargaining policy and to formulate its own political policy and method. In both of these realms the Canadian division has gone its own way in highly important respects. It did not

give a no strike pledge in war time as the American section did. It aligned itself with a political party (CCF) in 1943, 1944, and 1960, whereas the international did not. The Canadian struggle in steel during the war years was directed by Canadian leaders with only infrequent contacts with the International President and Officers.

The Canadian membership therefore looks to a National Director and a national office in Toronto which has an organizing, administrative, and research staff. Secondly, the country is divided into three districts, constituting Districts 2, 5, and 6 of the 39 Districts in the international. Each District has its own District Director. Practically no funds cross the boundary. They are lodged in a Canadian bank in the International's name and switched monthly by cheque to the Canadian National Director.

High points in the effort of the Steelworkers during the war years and after the reorganization of 1940 were: (1) the Peck Rolling Mills Case for wage increases before an IDI Board during the early months of 1941, (2) the basic wage case against Dosco and Algoma running over a number of years, and (3) the struggle with National Steel Car Company of Hamilton with the object of getting recognition and a bargaining agreement.

In July 1946, steel again took the spotlight of the labor stage by calling a wage strike against the three basic companies. With the war emergency technically still in effect the union in taking this course was on doubtful legal ground, especially since it made no attempt to carry a case for wage increases to either the National or the Regional

War Labor Boards. Being forewarned, the Government announced the appointment of a Comptroller for the industry before the leaders had issued the strike call. This gesture had, however, through frequent usage lost its power as a preventative and the call went out on schedule. At Sydney and Algoma the stoppage was complete, but at Hamilton the Steel Company of Canada had made its preparations and proceeded to house and feed a group of men estimated at approximately half the normal work force.

Altogether this strike ranks as one of the largest and most violent in Canadian history. Like the Ford strike of 1945 it revealed the lack of agreement on any definition on the limits of the rights of strikers and firms in industrial clashes, or of the proper role of the police and other agencies of public authority. One result of the strike regarded as a real gain by the union was the achievement of a uniform wage rate for all three firms.

Unionism in the automobile industry in Canada has been an integral part of the development of the CIO industrial unions within the whole continent. As might be expected of this industry, the earliest movement was centered in the United States. Then in 1937 the scene shifted to Canada. Canadian activities started at Oshawa at the General Motors' Canadian Motor Car Plant. The issue - recognition of the local and its affiliation with the UAW International. General Motors of Canada insisted on dealing with its own employees exclusively - no international connection. During the subsequent work stoppage, David Kroll, Minister of Labor for Ontario, took unsuccessful steps to bring the parties

together. Then followed the well remembered intervention by the infamous Premier of Ontario, Mitchell Hepburn.

The entry of Hepburn into the dispute on the side of the company ensured a company victory and its approach to the collective bargaining relationship prevailed. The collective agreement, when eventually signed, was between the local union and the company with no signature nor reference to the international organization. Similar agreements were obtained by the St. Catharines local and McKinnon Industries, a subsidiary of General Motors, and by the Windsor local and Kelsey Hayes Wheel Company as well as a branch of General Motors. However, Ford of Canada remained untouched as did Chrysler. It was not until 1942 that the union succeeded in obtaining an agreement from Ford of Canada.

The years following 1937 brought bad times to the industry and deep-rooted internal factionalism within the union. This factionalism, which for months sapped the strength of the infant organization, has been characterized as having its origins in irresponsibility, inability to practice self-government, unprincipled leadership, and communist penetration. A fair assessment would probably admit a degree of truth in all of these and many others. At the worst democracy broke down. Too many agreements were poorly fulfilled. There were communist and also anti-communist leaders in Detroit playing on the union leaders and being used in turn by the latter as they sought support in the struggle for power. But the more enlightened approach is to realize that here was a vast conglomerate of persons of many races and nationalities, mostly youthful. They had no tradition of unionism and were confronted with powerful

opposing and devisive forces. They repudiated the leadership offered by the AFL and followed those who had emerged from the stress and strife. The upshot was that authority changed hands in the 1940 election, a condition that was reflected abruptly in the pages of the official organ.

The factional struggle was reflected in Canada in the removal of C.H. Millard, first Director of the Canadian Region, and the election of George Burt. At the 1946 meeting of 3,000 delegates at Atlantic City, following his leadership of the great strike against General Motors, Walter Reuther was elected over Thomas as President. George Burt of Canada was returned by acclamation. Burt's politics have not been too obtrusive. He refused to commit the Canadian UAW to the CCL Political Action Committee's program in 1944 when it endorsed the CCF. However he later accepted the CCL convention's modified version of the program. While apparently leaning to the left in his own social philosophy, he stood for intelligent opportunism as a trade unions best method in politics as well as in industrial affairs.

Loyalty to the principle of all-out production together with government regulation of wages and limitation on stoppages held the workers to steady work performances during the last years of the war. Both in Canada and in the United States the union gave no strike pledges. But within the industry it was common knowledge that the germs of conflict were spawning. With Germany and Japan disposed of, two strikes of the first magnitude laid their heavy hand upon postwar production. The first of these was against Ford of Canada at Windsor called at the instance of local 200. The main issue was union security. The strike

began September 12, 1945 and lasted until December 18. The second strike was called against General Motors of the United States.

After much discussion between the union, company, and the Ontario and Federal Governments, the Canadian strike was called off and Justice Rand of the Supreme Court of Canada was appointed as an arbitrator to deal with those issues still unresolved. His award, among other things, denied the workers the union shop but granted the checkoff of dues for all employees whether members or not. He also laid upon the union the responsibility of repudiating all strikes not called by the union and so notifying the company, and of calling no strikes before obtaining a majority vote of all employees covered by the agreement. The terms of the award were subsequently set out in a collective agreement.

The Rand award is doubtless of historic importance. It introduced a new combination of devices in labor relations which found wide favour and a degree of permanence.

Labors interest thereafter switched in part back to wage issues. The settlement of the Ford stoppage by resort to arbitration following the re-establishment of conciliatory attitudes and of true collective bargaining marked a triumph of moderates over extremists on both sides in labor relations. Radical unionists on the other hand were denied the opportunities sought by many of them on this occasion to stage a general strike of all workers, if even for one day, to force the Government into action.

Contribution of National Centers and International/National Unions To  
Philosophy - A Comparison

The approach selected for the examination of international and national union contributions to philosophy is primarily one of comparison - the comparison of the contributions to philosophy of international and national unions with the contributions of philosophy of the national centers set forth in Part II. This approach is particularly suitable in the sense that it not only permits easy integration of the philosophy of each of the several elements in Canadian trade union structure, thus reducing the complexity of the task for the writer as well as the reader, but also emphasizes the uniformity and differences in philosophical issues between one element and another. It also highlights the differing emphasis placed on some issues over others from one element to another. This latter emphasis brings out clearly the observed similarities in the content of issues within philosophy but at the same time recognizes variations in the degree to which a particular issue is part of a given element's total philosophy.

Differences in Content and Degree. Turning first to philosophical differences between national centers and the international/national unions it was observed that the degree of emphasis placed on the external issues within the philosophy of each differed considerably - the former centering on certain external issues, the latter on certain internal issues. Measures comparing the degree of emphasis placed by each on the eight categories of internal and external issues are given in Table VII.

The observations noted from Table VII are most revealing. First, there appears to be a marked difference in the emphasis placed on

TABLE VII

PERCENT OF EFFORT (RANGE & AVERAGE) DEVOTED TO INTERNAL &  
EXTERNAL ISSUES BY THE FOUR NATIONAL CENTERS & EIGHT  
INTERNATIONAL/NATIONAL UNIONS, 1935-1966

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	<u>National Centers</u>		<u>International/National</u>	
	Range	Average	Range	Average
Internal Issues:				
1. Labor Management Relations	13-25	18	10-65	26
2. Labor & Political Action	5-13	8	2-15	7
3. Internal Trade Union Affairs	10-22	17	11-79	35
4. Regulation of Employer Practices	3- 7	4	2	2
All Internal Issues	45-51	48	52-91	69
External Issues:				
5. Social Welfare	14-20	17	2-14	6
6. Economic Policy	26-28	27	6-40	22
7. Structure of Government	4	4	.5- 2	1
8. Foreign Affairs	3-10	6	.4- 2	2
All External Issues	49-55	52	9-48	31

internal and external issues by each group. In the case of national centers, most efforts were devoted to external issues (52%) with 48% going to the internal category. In the case of the international/national unions the emphasis was reversed. Internal issues received 69% whereas external issues received only 31%.

Further, within each of the two groups of issues, one again notes sharp differences in emphasis. In the internal group two categories of issues are particularly noticeable - labor-management relations and internal trade union affairs. The four national centers devoted 18% and 17% to these two categories whereas the efforts devoted by internationals/nationals amounted to 26% and 35%. The categories of labor and political action and regulation of employers practices received roughly equal efforts from both groups of unions. Similar differences and similarities were noted in the categories within the external group. The major difference centered on social welfare with the national centers devoting 17%, the internationals/nationals only 6%. A much smaller difference was observed in the category economic policy (27% and 22%), structure of government (4% and 1%), and foreign affairs (6% and 2%).

Measures comparing the degree of emphasis placed by each of the international and national unions on the eight categories of internal and external issues are given in Table VIII. The statistical detail used in preparing Table VIII is given in Appendix D.

First, we note, as expected, that most of the effort has been devoted to internal issues. However, the degree varies considerably from the low of 52% (CPW) to a high of 91% (MM). Some of these differences

TABLE VIII

PERCENT OF EFFORT DEVOTED TO INTERNAL & EXTERNAL ISSUES  
BY INTERNATIONAL & NATIONAL UNIONS, 1935-1966

	CBRT	CUPE	ICW	NM	UE	UPW	USW	UAW
Internal Issues:								
Labor-Management Relations	19	65	12	10	24	25	30	28
Labor & Political Action	10	3	4	2	5	11	6	15
Internal Trade Union Affairs	36	11	63	79	25	16	26	21
Regulation of Employer Practices	<u>2</u> 67	<u>-</u> 79	<u>-</u> 79	<u>-</u> 91	<u>-</u> 54	<u>-</u> 52	<u>-</u> 62	<u>-</u> 64
External Issues:								
Social Welfare	5	6	14	2	5	7	6	4
Economic Policy	24	15	7	6	39	40	31	30
Structure of Government	2	-	-	-	-	.5	.6	-
Foreign Affairs	<u>2</u> 33	<u>-</u> 21	<u>-</u> 21	<u>1</u> 9	<u>2</u> 46	<u>.5</u> 48	<u>.4</u> 38	<u>2</u> 36

(those above the average) may be explained by giving consideration to the degree of commitment of some of the unions to the major and minor schools of Canadian trade union philosophy. For example, the high figure for Mine Mill might be explained by its ideological commitment, internal conflict, and general refusal to accept the philosophy of either the TLC or the CCL. The fact that within the internal category it devoted 79% of its efforts to internal trade union affairs gives support to this explanation. A similar explanation may hold for the International Chemical Workers, an old line lethargic AFL/TLC union which found itself gradually consumed by its aggressive CIO/CCL counterparts. Again, its 63% effort devoted to internal trade union affairs may support this possibility. In the case of CUPE, with 79% of its efforts devoted to internal issues, it was founded after the TLC/CCL merger (hence only 11% of effort devoted to internal trade union affairs) and it has moved aggressively into the much under developed public employee field. In a very real sense it is a new and building union working in a new and potentially vast field for trade unionism. It is particularly interesting to note that 65% of its efforts were devoted to the labor-management relations category. The CBRT, for its part, was deeply involved in the TLC/CCL conflict, and as one would expect, it devoted a comparatively high percentage of its internal efforts to the category of internal trade union affairs (36%).

Within the external group two main observations are relevant. First, none of the unions devoted much effort to the categories of structure of government and foreign affairs. The apparent lack of effort

by the MM (a supposedly ideological union) in all four categories was particularly unanticipated. Second, with only one exception (the ICW) the category which received greatest effort was economic policy. In fact, within the external group, issues within the economic policy category dominated the efforts of all eight unions.

Differences On Specific Issues. Tables IX through XVI list in rank order the specific issues in order of effort devoted to them within the philosophy of the eight international/national unions. The following observations are of interest. First, of the 93 positions within the rankings, external issues occupied only 32 or 34%. In the case of the four national centers studied in Part II, the comparable figure was 18 out of 30 positions or 60%. Second, in terms of the top five positions within each union, external issues occupied only 12 out of 40 or 30%. In the case of the national centers the comparable results were six out of ten or 60%. Third, of the 24 positions open within the top three issues, the internal category of internal trade union affairs occupied 12 or 50%. Issues within the category of labor management relations occupied 6 or 25%. The remaining positions were distributed as follows: social welfare, 1, and economic policy, 5. Fourth, of the eight positions open for top spot, internal trade union affairs occupied 4 (CBRT, MM, ICW, and UE), labor management relations, 2 (CUPE, and UAW), and economic policy, 2 (UPW, and USW).

TABLE IX

RANK ORDER OF EFFORT DEVOTED TO SPECIFIC ISSUES BY CANADIAN  
BROTHERHOOD OF RAILWAY EMPLOYEES, 1935-1966.

<u>Issue</u>	<u>Frequency</u>
Need to extend trade union organization	1887
Craft/industrial union conflict in the railways	1134
Articulation of CBRT principles and philosophy	1087
Urged changes in Canadian economic system	(832)
Demand for improved wages, hours, and working conditions	(783)
Support for manpower development programs	(674)
Support for CCF platform and policies	(591)
Support for labor-management co-operation	(561)
Causes and reasons for strikes	(542)
CBRT support for work of CCL	(513)
Concern over unemployment and its causes	(489)
Government intervention in labor disputes	(434)
Support for national over international trade unions	(414)
Opposed to compulsory arbitration	(404)
Concern over inflation and purchasing power of wages	(273)

( ) External Issue

TABLE X

RANK ORDER OF EFFORT DEVOTED TO SPECIFIC ISSUES BY CANADIAN  
UNION OF PUBLIC EMPLOYEES, 1964-1966.

<u>Issue</u>	<u>Frequency</u>
Need for collective bargaining in the Public Service	50
Support for regional bargaining structures	41
Role of strikes in the public sector	36
Need for better vacation plan provisions	36
In favour of decking pension plans	(36)
Opposed to practice of subcontracting out	28
Support for "model" or "standard" agreement	28
Concern over the operation of the Canadian economy	(28)
Concern over inflation and purchasing power of wages	(26)

( ) External Issue

TABLE XI

RANK ORDER OF EFFORT DEVOTED TO SPECIFIC ISSUES BY INTERNATIONAL CHEMICAL WORKERS, 1948-1963.

<u>Issue</u>	<u>Frequency</u>
Activities of ICW in Canada	29
Attacked presence of communists in unions	27
Abolish means test for pensions	(18)
Support for international trade unionism	16
Need to improve quality of union leadership and image	14
Urged nationalization of Canadian industry	(14)
Expressed support for SIU	10

( ) External Issue

TABLE XII

RANK ORDER OF EFFORT DEVOTED TO SPECIFIC ISSUES BY INTER-  
NATIONAL UNION OF MINE, MILL, AND SMELTER WORKERS, 1955-1965.

<u>Issue</u>	<u>Frequency</u>
Conflict between Canadian locals and headquarters	240
Call for labor unity within the union	195
Jurisdictional dispute with Steelworkers	90
Efforts of Mine Mill to affiliate with CLC	70
Officers reports to conventions	55
Commitment to local autonomy	52
Concern over unemployment and its causes	(42)
Role of law in labor relations	40
Reorganization of union structure	35
Internal conflict and jurisdictional issues	31

( ) External Issue

TABLE XIII

RANK ORDER OF EFFORT DEVOTED TO SPECIFIC ISSUES BY THE UNITED  
ELECTRICAL, RADIO, AND MACHINE WORKERS, 1945-1964.

<u>Issue</u>	<u>Frequency</u>
Need for labor unity in Canada	295
Concern over unemployment and its causes	(275)
Opposed to the economic system of production for profit	(195)
Concern over the impact of automation on employment	(192)
Against "raiding" and inter-union conflict	(178)
Support for manpower development programs	(151)
Principles in the union-management relationship	147
Opposed to American capital in Canada	(128)
UE support for the CCL	122
Canadian foreign trade policies	(114)
Legal foundations of trade unions and their rights	110
Demand for improved wages, hours, and working conditions	104
Role of law in labor relations	103
Principles and objectives of the UE	76
Need for improved national health and welfare system	(65)

( ) External Issue

TABLE XIV

RANK ORDER OF EFFORT DEVOTED TO SPECIFIC ISSUES BY CANADIAN  
PACKINGHOUSE WORKERS, 1952-1964.

<u>Issue</u>	<u>Frequency</u>
Concern over unemployment and its causes	(73)
Support for guaranteed annual wage schemes	53
Canadian immigration policy	(48)
Dissatisfaction with conciliation processes	42
Attacked Liberal handling of pipeline debate	41
Role of trade unionism in society	33
Concern over the impact of automation on employment	(31)

( ) External Issue

TABLE XV

RANK ORDER OF EFFORT DEVOTED TO SPECIFIC ISSUES BY UNITED  
STEELWORKERS OF AMERICA, 1948-1965.

<u>Issue</u>	<u>Frequency</u>
Concern over the impact of automation on employment	(401)
USWA views on the process of collective bargaining	369
Role of trade unions in Canadian society	322
Role of trade unions in Canadian economic system	(318)
Support for manpower development programs	(307)
Concern over unemployment and its causes	(258)
Statements re: USWA wage policy	238
Need to organize in white collar field	231
Canadian labor-management scene	221
Call for improved medical care	(180)
Call for labor union in Canada	156
Support for international unions over national unions	124
Role of strikes in labor-management relations	121
Need for responsible and effective trade unions	113
Jurisdictional dispute with Mine-Mill	112

( ) External Issue

TABLE XVI

RANK ORDER OF EFFORT DEVOTED TO SPECIFIC ISSUES BY UNITED  
AUTOMOBILE WORKERS, 1942-1964.

<u>Issue</u>	<u>Frequency</u>
Demand for improved wages, hours, and working conditions	445
The role of unions in political action	259
UAW support of the CCL	154
Urged changes in Canadian economic system	(121)
Call for labor unity in Canada	119
Canadian trade and tariff policies	(117)
UAW approach to labor-management relations	109
Concern over the impact of automation on unemployment	(85)
Concern over inflation and purchasing power of wages	(67)
Concern over unemployment and its causes	(64)
Concern over corruption and racketeering in unions	62
Support for link between the CLC and NDP	50
Urged reforms in unemployment insurance system	(46)
Support for CCF platform and policies	45
Support for a national pension scheme	(35)

( ) External Issue



PART III

PHILOSOPHY AND THE NATIONAL CENTER CONTROVERSY

F. THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE TLC & ACCL

In 1935, there were two opposing trade union structures in Canada. One comprised affiliated locals, nationals, and internationals within the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada. The other comprised locals and nationals under the banner of the All-Canadian Congress of Labor. The Trades and Labor Congress of Canada and its affiliates stood for the philosophy of class collaboration. The All-Canadian Congress of Labor and its supporters leaned toward the class conscious philosophy.

As noted earlier, the sharpest differences in philosophy arose from differences in what we have called the four major internal issues of philosophy - the conduct of labor-management relations, the regulation of employer practices, and, particularly in the case of the TLC and the ACCL, labor and political action and internal trade union affairs.

In matters external, the two organizations took very similar positions on the issues of social welfare, structure of government, and foreign affairs. On the other hand, there were differences over the issues of economic policy although such differences were not nearly as sharp as those in the internal category.

Turning to the specific differences in TLC/ACCL philosophies over the internal issues of labor and political action, and internal trade union affairs, one finds that the latter issue can be broken down into issues of (a) the structure of organized labor (national versus international structures) and (b) form of organization (craft versus industrial).<sup>9</sup>

Philosophy of ACCL on Internal Issues

The President's address, report of the Executive Board, and the proceedings of the fifth convention of the All-Canadian Congress of Labor held at the Queen's Hotel at Montreal on May 7, 1935 serve to illustrate the ACCL position on these three internal issues in the class conscious philosophy.

With respect to political action ACCL President, A.R. Mosher, offered the following comments:

With respect to political action, the principle which was adopted by the Congress was that this should be carried on through the medium of a labor party, established upon the basis of the workers' economic organizations. The primary field of labor activity was considered to be the economic field, the establishment of national unions for the negotiation of agreements as to wages, hours of labor, and working conditions. It was felt that only after strong economic unions had been built up would it be possible to form a labor party which would be able to give expression to labor's broader aspirations, and powerful enough to realize them by legislative action.<sup>10</sup>

Note that the 1935 position of the ACCL called for first the establishment of strong "economic organizations" after which the labor party would be established. This position was further emphasized in a report of the Executive Board. The following paragraph illustrates:

. . . in the view of the All-Canadian Congress of Labor a political labor party should reflect the policies of the industrial labor movement; its status should be that of a complementary organization with respect to the national industrial unions. As was declared by the Board six years ago, 'it has become increasingly apparent that political power must grow out of the economic organization of workers, and must indeed grow in proportion to the growth of unionism.' To reverse the order of precedence, to pattern union policy on political theory, is to build from the top down. . . .<sup>11</sup>

The emphasis on economic action first and political action second distinguished the ACCL from other class conscious structures.

Clearly, the ACCL was an organization which was established to represent a philosophy which was opposed to the philosophy imported under the international trade union structure. It follows that the ACCL's outlook was not only critical of this philosophy and the policies which arose from it, but also condemned the application of policies and philosophies formulated in the United States to the Canadian trade union scene. In this, they were striking out at interference by a foreign country in Canadian trade union affairs. In his address before the convention President Mosher expressed ACCL sentiment:

Our objective, in the first instance, is to achieve the complete independence of the Canadian labor movement, by removing every vestige of foreign control, and organizing the workers of Canada in industrial unions covering every Canadian industry.<sup>12</sup>

Note also the words used by the Executive Board in its report to the convention:

Despite the tardy realization that foreign control of workers' organizations, and the resultant lack of integration which only a solid and stable national labor movement can provide, are a menace to the integrity of the state, the measures designed ultimately to remedy these conditions come at a time when the workers, in sore distress, are disinclined to wait for orderly reform of the social and economic system.<sup>13</sup>

On the issue of craft or industrial form or organization the report of the Executive Board set forth the following statement of position:

With the development of large-scale industry, the craft union has become obsolescent to such a degree that the workers in some undertakings have shown a preference for employer-controlled staff associations rather than narrow

craft unions which conform to the American Federation of Labor's traditional policy. The time has not arrived when craft unionism can be discarded by every occupational group, but wherever practicable the workers' organization should be designed to embrace all engaged in the production of a particular commodity or the provision of a particular service, and it should be free from any influence or control by the employer.<sup>14</sup>

#### Philosophy of TLC on Internal Issues

By way of contrast the following are expressions in TLC philosophy and are to be compared with a similar expression of ACCL philosophy outlined earlier. Many of these positions represent the long standing position of the TLC. Some date back to the very early beginnings of the TLC.

The question of the role of the trade union movement in political affairs was one that was frequently debated in TLC conventions. In the convention of 1936 the long standing position of the TLC was stated once again. The following resolution was first adopted in Vancouver in 1923 and subsequently confirmed in conventions held in 1924, 1929, 1930, 1931, 1932, 1933, 1935, 1936, 1937, 1938, and 1939:

Therefore, be it resolved, that labor political autonomy be left in the hands of the established labor political parties, and inasmuch as the Platform of Principles of this Congress contains the epitome of the best thought of organized labor during the whole period of its existence and struggles, that organized labor in Canada independently of any political organization engage in the effort to send representatives of the people to Parliament, the Provincial Legislatures or other elective bodies of this country.<sup>15</sup>

A TLC editorial in the Canadian Congress Journal for July 1935 elaborated on the practical meaning of this resolution:

With a general election in the offering, the time would seem opportune to restate the nonpolitical character of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada. While every member enjoys the right and privilege to join and participate in the activities of any political party they may desire, our movement at the same time affords opportunity for each one, however strongly they may differ in politics, to work together for their common objectives as industrial workers.<sup>16</sup>

The acceptance by the TLC of the international trade union structure and philosophy categorically rejected any suggestion that United States trade unions interfered in any way in Canadian trade union affairs. In reply to ACCL charges of "interference," they simply advanced the following traditional "North American Trade Unionist Thesis":

It is because the international trade union movement does think of people that its members make common cause with workers in the United States for betterment of their working conditions, acting through their own national organization - 'The Trades and Labor Congress of Canada' - on other matters which affect the social and cultural development of this Dominion. In this they are no different to their employers who, through interlocking directorates and financial interests, are in most cases closely aligned with industries in the United States. The common understanding between the masses of workers on each side of the border fostered by international trade unionism has in the past, and continues to be, a vital factor in the preservation of international harmony and peace between the peoples of these two great countries.<sup>17</sup>

By the time of the TLC convention of 1937, the issue of the craft or industrial form of organization had been brought out into the open with the split within the American Federation of Labor in the United States. At the 1937 convention, the TLC Executive moved cautiously. It is clear that at this time the TLC Executive did not feel as strongly about the issue as did their counterparts in the AFL. Its lengthy resolution on the subject was couched in guarded conciliatory

terms. It expressed concern over the possibility of a similar split within TLC ranks, and instructed its officers to communicate their anxieties to AFL officers and to offer their services in an attempt to resolve the widening differences. In 1938, it reiterated its 1937 position in equally guarded but much shorter terms:

That this convention concurs in the desires expressed for the avoidance of division of our movement in Canada, as set forth in the resolutions above mentioned; and be it further resolved, that the Executive of the Congress be instructed to continue its efforts to maintain harmony within the international trade union movement in Canada in compliance with the decision of the Ottawa convention 'that action taken shall be on terms acceptable to international trade unions and thus avoiding any disregard for or defiance of their laws and policies;' and be it further resolved, that we call on our Executive to exert every effort to the end that we may again have a unified labor movement on the North American continent; to explore every possible avenue and lend their fullest support to all moves in this direction.<sup>18</sup>

In late 1938, the Executive suspended affiliates which, upon investigation, it found were participating in the CIO movement. At the 1939 convention the delegates confirmed the Executives' action, and reaffirmed that the long standing AFL craft form of organization would continue to be subscribed to by the TLC. The following are the more pertinent sections of the lengthy resolution:

We have carefully read and considered the Officers' Report dealing with the matter, the circumstances which faced your Executive, at the latter part of 1938 which demanded the suspension of the CIO unions in order to retain in membership during 1939 those organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor . . . .

We find that in suspending the CIO unions the Executive Council was within its rights and in full accord with the resolution of the convention of last year which stated:

'That action taken shall be on terms acceptable to international trade unions and thus avoiding any disregard for or defiance of their laws and policies.' This is corroborated by the fact that closely following our last convention the Committee for Industrial Organization held a meeting . . . which action resulted in them becoming definitely dual to the American Federation of Labor . . . .

. . . . .

The resolutions submitted show a desire that every effort should be continued to assist in whatever development shall take place that would lead to reuniting the forces of organized labor in this Dominion and in concurrence with this view we recommend that the incoming Executive assist wherever possible and hold themselves in readiness to do their utmost to heal the breach so that labor can continue to grow in solidarity and strength within the American Federation of Labor and the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada.<sup>19</sup>

By comparison with the self defined role established by the ACCL, the role of the TLC was very limited. Since its inception the TLC steadfastly refused to extend its activities beyond the legislative area. Its role was to act as the "legislative mouthpiece" of organized labor in Canada. In part, this concentration on legislative developments explains its equally rigid adherence to a policy of political nonalignment. It would be difficult for labor to catch government's ear if the listener knew that the speaker represented some other political interest. The legislative program of the TLC consisted of the annual submissions presented on legislative changes to the Federal and Provincial cabinets, lobbying in support of bills favorable to labor, and representations on behalf of labor before boards, commissions and committees which were considering matters of interest to labor. The words of Robert Hewitt, General Vice-President of the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen, before the TLC Winter School of January 1938 illustrate the preoccupation of the

TLC with legislative matters:

Inasmuch as our geographical and political position naturally debar the AF of L from acting directly in a legislative capacity in Canada it was years ago found necessary to overcome that difficulty by establishing a Canadian institution to fulfill that function in Canada. Therefore the Trades and Labor Congress was established, the proper function of which is almost identical with that of the AF of L with the exception of adjusting jurisdictional differences between international unions, a matter which the AF of L alone can deal with.<sup>20</sup>

In considering the role of the TLC within the trade union structure at this time, it is important to realize that it assumed a more limited role than other national centers such as the ACCL and AFL. It contributed little to Canadian trade union philosophy, and what contribution it did make was related to external matters of philosophy. At that time and since that time the philosophy on internal matters was formulated and flowed through the international connection and is part of the relationship between Canadian locals and sections and their respective internationals.

#### TLC and ACCL Differences on External Issues

In matters external there was little that separated the TLC and ACCL positions. By and large, this similarity in positions is a result of the fact that (a) external issues related not so much to matters of trade unionism as they did to matters of working class welfare, and (b) that the ACCL had been established as a result of differences with the TLC over internal issues in philosophy.

Had there been room for the internal philosophy of the ACCL within the TLC, the former center would never have had established in the first

place. They were not matters over which a trade unionist had much control inasmuch as they were not issues which could be influenced by the collective relationship. In nearly all cases, they were matters which were politically determined and represented matters of government policy. They were the type of issue over which it would be difficult for individuals who were concerned with working class welfare to disagree. If there were disagreements they would be on matters of detail, emphasis, or implementation rather than principles. They were not the type of issue which was strongly influenced by the international relationship.

Expressions of external philosophy are in reality commentaries on the existing socio-economic order and, by and large, represent protests on the role and position of the working class in that order. Should unemployment rise, concern is expressed that the working class bears the brunt of economic instability and demands that the government take appropriate remedial measures. In times of inflationary pressures, the same argument is advanced and the same remedy is prescribed.

The one area where there were sharp differences focused on the issue of economic policy, particularly the call for nationalization of parts of Canadian industry.

ACCL philosophy on economic policy, particularly the issue of the nationalization of industry, differed from the economic policy of the TLC in two major respects. First, the ACCL's position called for the national center to actively participate in bringing these changes about. In fact, it was anticipated that the national center would play a key role. Secondly, the ACCL's position was more vigorous and was very specific in the

description of the economic reforms it advocated. It was an element of philosophy which was more clearly defined. One explanation for this is that one can be more specific and vigorous in criticizing something when one does not have to deal with it on a day to day basis. In his address to the ACCL convention of 1935 President Mosher commented:

Our ultimate objective as a Congress of labor unions, however, is the transformation of the economic system into one based on service instead of profit, one in which production and consumption will be closely correlated, and work, leisure, and product will be equitably shared among the workers. I need scarcely repeat what has now become a platitude, that, in a vast country such as Canada, with its natural and human resources, its equipment, its technical skill and every other factor which is required to produce the necessities and the luxuries of life, there is no excuse for poverty and privation. That fact is so obvious that the people of Canada will not be content much longer to suffer under the present maladjusted and outmoded economic system. It is inevitable that, within a comparatively brief period, changes must take place, and of all the forces which are working towards that end, the forces of organized labor are the most important.<sup>21</sup>

In its report, the Executive Board set out the following policy on the issue of the economic organization. Note that the form of organization advocated by the more militant class conscious labor bodies was specifically rejected by the ACCL.

Private enterprise has developed the means of producing plenty, but it has dismally failed to make plenty available to all sections of the community. Its failure with respect to the vital commodities and services is a catastrophe; but its failure in other directions is not as important. This distinction has not received due recognition and the indiscriminating condemnation of capitalism has led to the advocacy of panaceas which go far beyond the needs of the situation and which provoke unnecessary hostility to change of any sort. The Board recommends that the national labor movement should urge the taking over of the basic industries by the state, as an emergency measure of national self-

preservation, and their operation as public utilities, the products in the form of food, clothing, and shelter to be distributed to all who are willing to work, regardless of whether or not the services of all are required in production and distribution.<sup>22</sup>

It is important to note at this time that few of the differences between the TLC and ACCL focused on matters relating to labor-management relations and collective bargaining. One possible exception being the difference over the form of organization, with the ACCL arguing that the industrial form of organization was more potent than the craft form of organization. Other than this one element, the policies of the TLC and ACCL in these two areas and the action urged are identical. Both organizations advocated collective bargaining as the means of improvement to wages, hours, and working conditions. Both urged the right to organize and to carry out collective bargaining free of interference from the employer, and that these rights be established as specified rights under law. Not only were the two organizations working towards the same objectives, but also both faced common problems in their attempts to reach their objectives.

Recognizing that the ACCL's outlook on the immediate improvement in wages, hours and working conditions did not offer an alternative to the outlook of the TLC, it follows that the appeal of the ACCL philosophy must have been based on other activities within trade union affairs. What then was the basis of the appeals offered by the ACCL? Why should Canadian trade unionists support the ACCL philosophy?

By and large, the ACCL appeal was ideological in nature. Ideological in the sense that the appeal was based on matters of trade union

principles and philosophies rather than trade union methods and practice. Ideological in the sense that it was "future" rather than "immediate" in character. As noted earlier, in terms of practical immediate day to day trade unionism there was little that separated the philosophy of the TLC from the philosophy of the ACCL. This ideological appeal emphasized: (a) a purely Canadian trade union movement, (b) organization of workers on an industrial basis, (c) strong trade union political action, and (d) public over private enterprise.

In addition, the unions which chose to affiliate with the ACCL did so for different reasons. To some, justification lay in the appeal of pure Canadian unionism. To others, justification lay in the appeal of its policies on political action, and so on. In most cases, the appeals of pure Canadian trade unionism and the industrial form of organization were predominant. As might be expected, many of the ACCL supporters were in organizations that had difficulty living with the international trade union structure, the craft form of organization (dual), or both.

G. THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE TLC AND CCL

The Canadian Congress of Labor was established in 1940 by bringing together elements of the ACCL and the Canadian sections of the CIO unions which had been expelled from the TLC. Apart from the deep commitment to industrial trade unionism, the CCL differed from the TLC in (a) less dependence on the international structure and hence less participation from abroad, (b) less concern for dual unionism and hence it was a more open organization than the TLC, (c) a more aggressive and positive political action program, and (d) an aggressive role in extending trade union organization.

With the rise of the CCL and the demise of the ACCL, the issue of an all-Canadian trade union structure became a three time loser and, as one would expect, little was heard of this issue in subsequent years. However, the other issues which separated the philosophies of the ACCL and the TLC were carried forward in the philosophy of the CCL.

Except for the issue of all-Canadian trade unionism, the internal issues which distinguished the philosophies of labor bodies to this time such as the form of organization, political representation, and the role of the National Center, were common to the labor organizations in the United States as well as in Canada. Indeed, in most of the trade union movements throughout the industrialized world. However, in comparing the evolution of these differences in the United States and Canada, it is readily apparent that they had greater consequences for the Canadian movement than for the United States movement. In the latter case, while differences have always existed they did not lead, until the rise of the

CIO, to the same structural transformation as they did within the Canadian movement. In this sense, the Canadian movement has had not only a longer history of class conscious philosophy, but also it has been a stronger force in Canadian trade union philosophy and structure. It has led to greater balkanization of its structure.

It is generally agreed that Canadian sections of CIO unions enjoyed greater autonomy than did Canadian sections of the AFL unions in economic as well as political matters. In both areas, direction of Canadian activities tended to locate in larger eastern Canadian centers and there was little participation from across the line. Some affiliates, such as the steelworkers and packinghouse workers, carried on their programs quite independent of the American sections of their international. In others, such as unions in the automobile, electrical, and rubber industries, the self efficiency of Canadian sections was not as pronounced.<sup>23</sup> An editorial in CCL journal, the Canadian Unionist put it this way:

The locals of the international industrial unions had been affiliated with the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, but, much against its will, and under orders from the American Federation of Labor, the Trades Congress was forced to expel them from membership at its convention a year ago. Then occurred a particularly noteworthy development, which even the most sanguine could scarcely have anticipated. The Congress of Industrial Organizations and its affiliated unions, at the request of the Canadian leadership, decided to grant full autonomy to the Canadian locals; they were to determine, without any interference or restraint, their organizational and legislative policy; they were free to form any associations they wished in Canada, and decide for themselves upon all matters affecting their interest as groups of Canadian workers. As the United Mine Workers' Journal put it 'the international structure remains the same, when it comes to collective Canadian action there is complete self-government.'

This far sighted and far reaching decision changed the picture completely . . . and, because the one barrier to unity, the

question of autonomy, had been removed, the Congress was able to co-operate with them in planning the basis of the new Congress which has now been established. There was complete unanimity as to the desirability of the industrial form of organization . . . .<sup>24</sup>

Not only did the CCL differ from the TLC on the matter of "home rule," but also it had wide powers for resolving jurisdictional disputes. Rather than referring disputes to convention or relying on internationals to battle it out, the CCL expected disputants to negotiate differences to a settlement, and failing this, to refer the matter to the executive council. At first their decision was only a "recommendation," but in 1943 its conclusions were made final and binding.

Unlike the TLC, the CCL avoided a jurisdictional straight jacket by refusing to adopt a constitutional prescription against dual unionism. Repeated attempts, commencing with the first convention, were rebuked by the executive and turned down by the delegates. As a result of the absence of this type of prescription, organization was freer, competitive, and the workers about to be organized were offered a real choice based on service and results rather than being forced to enter a union which had been granted a privileged position regardless of the services and results it offered.<sup>25</sup>

One of the major problems faced by the Congress was the accommodation of uncompromising political groups within its affiliates. One aspect of the problem was derived from the presence of an aggressive CCF working population. It expressed itself in the issue of whether the Congress should endorse the platform of that party, or whether it should stand politically independent. Congress conventions gave this question much

attention and the Congress' position wobbled considerably from one year to another. While flirting with the idea earlier as indicated by resolutions and discussions, it was not until 1943 amidst a set of favorable circumstances that the advocates of alliance with the CCF won. At the 1944 convention, the formal endorsement was temporarily withdrawn. In its place was laid down the Congress' own platform of twenty-nine planks with the proviso that when it had been presented to the various political parties for their examination, the party that promised to implement it on all points was to receive the Congress support. Inasmuch as some planks were definitely socialistic and opposed to the competitive system, it was a foregone conclusion that neither old party would accept it. For other reasons it was alien to the plans of the Labor Progressivists. The result was that the Congress continued CCF.

A fourth aspect of philosophy which distinguished the TLC from the CCL was the latter's emphasis on organization. In this the CCL itself assumed a prime responsibility. It found practical expression in the giving of assistance to member unions and in direct organizing and chartering. The key to this effort was financial contributions from its wealthy affiliates. Substantial donations were made by organizations such as District 18 of the United Mineworkers of America, Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Employees, and Steelworkers Organizing Committee and this enabled the Congress to place organizers in almost every section of the country. By 1946, the Congress had twenty-three full-time and fifteen part-time organizers in the field.<sup>26</sup> In 1944, the CCL had surpassed the TLC in terms of membership. The Congress comprised thirteen internationals

with 377 branches, ten national unions with 292 branches, and 225 directly chartered locals.

While these statistics do not reveal the magnitude of international union influence within the CCL, they do reveal that Canadian unions were an important factor in what many still refer to as an "international movement." However, as noted above, the internationalism represented in the CCL was quite different from that represented in the TLC. Professor Logan used the following words to describe this new internationalism:

It may be described as a compromise wherein is expressed a larger degree of self confidence in looking after its own house. Even though taking its pattern in many respects from the new industrial unionism developing south of the border, the purely Canadian elements have been prominent in shaping this new creation which still shows capacity to entertain fresh experiments in structure as the situation changes.<sup>27</sup>

It would be a great mistake to underestimate the impact of the rise of the CCL on the Canadian trade union structure and philosophy. Not only did it represent the successful establishment of a structure and philosophy which repeatedly failed in Canada (the difference was that the CCL was well financed), but also it marked the decline of the influence of the TLC structure and philosophy. This was particularly true with the introduction of the new internationalism. As will be noted later, there is more of present national center philosophy which is of the CCL heritage than the TLC heritage.

The essence of the evolution of Canadian trade union philosophy and the role of the CCL in it was succinctly stated in December 1940 by the editor of the ACCL/CCL Journal, Norman E. Dowd:

When the history of the Canadian labor movement comes to be written, the year 1940 will be significant because

of the formation in September last of the Canadian Congress of Labor, bringing together two large groups of workers, one consisting of members of national industrial unions and the other of members of international industrial unions. This unprecedented move was the greatest step towards unity among Canadian workers which had ever been taken; it is important chiefly, however, because it broke down barriers of misunderstanding and goodwill which had kept Canadian workers divided for many years.

The Canadian Congress of Labor is the center of organizing and legislative activities for national unions which had been chartered by or affiliated with the former All-Canadian Congress of Labor, and for a number of autonomous Canadian locals of international unions, organized on an industrial basis. A good many of the organized workers of Canada are members of international unions, and they believe it to be to their advantage to retain their membership in those unions. So far as the international industrial unions are concerned, however, they were prepared to give their Canadian locals complete autonomy over Canadian policies, and this made it possible to bring the two groups of workers under the banner of one Congress.<sup>28</sup>

The success of the CCL was due in part to the financial resources made available for organizing and in part to the federal government's subsequent introduction in P.C. 2685 of principles that later became compulsory collective bargaining. In this sense, the timing of the CCL was most appropriate. The culmination of the formation of the CCL which demonstrated that its philosophy would work despite the TLC's longtime insistence that it wouldn't, the introduction of government pronouncements in favor of recognition and collective bargaining, and the Second World War resulted in the shifting of longstanding concern and effort from matters within the House of Labor to matters of practical day to day trade unionism and other issues in the labor-management field. In short, the internal issues and philosophy which had divided the movement since the Berlin Declaration of 1903 were no longer relevant to the movement's

philosophy. They were dead issues. In 1956, this elimination of a structural disunity based on philosophical differences was carried still further with the merger of the TLC and CCL into the CLC.<sup>29</sup>

H. THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE CLC

The April 1956 merger of the TLC and CCL was the most significant event in Canadian national center history, indeed Canadian labor history, since the TLC adopted the Berlin Declaration of 1903. It was the Berlin Declaration which signalled the start of the structural and philosophical differences which would rock the movement for the next fifty-four years. It was the expulsion of the CBRE in 1921 by the TLC which added re-enforcement to these differences. It was the merger which may have signalled an end to these differences.

To be sure, the merger of the TLC and CCL in Canada was made possible by the merger of the AFL and CIO in the United States.<sup>30</sup> On the other hand, while it was facilitated by this international connection, the merger may prove to mark the gradual decline of the international influence in Canada.

The philosophy of the CLC is something different and distinct from that of either the TLC or the CCL. To be sure, philosophical differences do exist between the two groups within the CLC, but nothing like the differences of 1940. Since that time, the number of differences and their intensity gradually declined as each group became more involved in practical pragmatic day-to-day trade unionism rather than the more esoteric activity of philosophy formulation. The success of the CCL at the bargaining table and the introduction of compulsory collective bargaining contributed to this shift of concern from philosophical conflict to practical day-to-day trade unionism.

As noted earlier, there was little that separated the external philosophies of the TLC and the CCL. With the formation of the CLC, these common positions were inherited by the new organization. The 1956 position of the CLC on external matters is given in Appendix C.

On the other hand, the 1956 merger did not eliminate the differences between the two schools of internal philosophical thought, and these differences are still very much evident in the new organization. It simply recognized that the differences were not that great to justify the continuation of a divided labor movement. The sense of this merger was well expressed by CCL President, A. R. Mosher, when he spoke before the seventieth annual convention of the TLC.

After many years of separation, some years of bitterness, some years of divided effort, we have at last seen the light of reason and are now making wonderful progress towards the uniting of these two great labor bodies.

. . . . .

We are getting together that we might be able more effectively to deal with these problems but we will have differences of opinion on many questions. But they are all differences that we can resolve with patience, with perseverance, with good will towards each other and with honesty of purpose.<sup>31</sup>

The merger of the TLC and CCL was not only consummated through a structural and constitutional redesign, but also through a reformulation of their internal philosophies. In its present internal philosophy, there is much that is new, but also much that is old. In comparing CLC philosophy with its immediate predecessors, it is more similar to that of the CCL than the TLC. For example, as noted in the following excerpts from the merger terms, the CLC is to be an "open" organization and it is

given specific responsibilities in the fields of organization, economic action, social affairs, as well as the legislative field. These terms of merger were more familiar to the CCL than the TLC.

(b) This new Congress shall be dedicated to the principles of promoting and advancing the best interests of its membership in the economic, social and legislative fields.

. . . . .

(d) The principles of both the industrial and craft concepts of organization are recognized as equally necessary, and the new Congress will endeavour to organize all Canadian workers into the appropriate type of union.<sup>32</sup>

Another aspect of CLC philosophy which hints of the political action position of the CCL, was the subsequent declaration by the CLC in June 1960 of support for the New Democratic Party. Only five years earlier, at the last convention of the TLC it once again reaffirmed its thirty year old policy of political neutrality. The resolution called upon the TLC to " . . . encourage and organize nonpartisan political action and education (consistent with the principle of electing our friends and defeating our enemies) to further the cause of labor."<sup>33</sup> The 1960 CLC resolution restated the position of the new Congress. "It should not itself become an integral part of the new party but it shall co-operate with the new party and with the fullest assistance encourage the affiliation of CLC affiliates with the party."<sup>34</sup>

One of the more immediate consequences of the recognition of both the craft and industrial concepts in organization was the creation of a large number of overlapping and competing jurisdictions. While the architects of the CLC were well aware of these consequences and have introduced procedures to resolve differences and claims over jurisdiction,

these procedures have not proved as successful as was originally hoped. The establishment of effective means to resolve these disputes remains as one of the major problems faced by the Congress today.

As noted earlier, most of the philosophical efforts of the Congress have been devoted to matters internal. The main issues involved: (a) a re-examination of the internal structure of the movement and its philosophy, and (b) effective methods to resolve internal jurisdictional disputes. It is as if the structure and philosophy which was passed to the Congress in the act of merger is inadequate in face of the economic and social reality of the present day. The present is a time of a searching examination of the role, function, and internal philosophy of this national center - indeed of the labor movement as a whole.

International Structure, International Philosophy, and Economic Planning

The sixth biennial conference of the CLC, held in Winnipeg in September 1966, established a Commission on Constitution and Structure " . . . to examine the entire question of structure, mergers, affiliation, and unity and to submit recommendations to the 1968 Canadian Labor Congress convention on these subjects."<sup>35</sup> In speaking on the proposal CLC President, Claude Jodoin, noted that with the tenth anniversary of the founding of the CLC " . . . the time seems appropriate to take a further look at our structure."<sup>36</sup> Subsequently, Donald MacDonald, Secretary-Treasurer of the CLC, was appointed Chairman of the Commission. The six member commission had equal representation from national and international unions, and invited two types of briefs from CLC affiliates: on the constitution and structure of the CLC and on the labor movement in general,

particularly mergers. In subsequent hearings called by the commission, it is reported that the Canadian Union of Public Employees urged the amalgamation of the more than 100 unions in Canada into ten national industrial unions. In its brief, it is reported that it argued " . . . that fragmentation into many unions was a basic fault of the Canadian labor movement, and that some international unions limited their Canadian members autonomy in matters that were purely Canadian." It is also reported that it urged a complete reorganization of the CLC's structure in order " . . . to eliminate the system of too many chiefs and too few indians."<sup>37</sup>

In December of 1966, the official publication of the Canadian Labor Congress commented on the work of the commission:

An intensive study that may have a marked influence on the structure and operations of the Canadian labour movement in the years to come was launched when the CLC's Commission on Structure and other matters held its first sessions in Vancouver early in November.

. . . . .

Hearings will continue at various centers across the country until early February; but the initial stages of the enquiry have been adequate to demonstrate the serious and constructive approaches being made by many sections of the movement.

Behind the entire project is a strong feeling that a labor movement must be prepared to keep abreast of the times and to equip itself to meet new and changing conditions if it is to fulfill its responsibility to the membership.

The first ten years of the merged Congress comprised what might be considered to be a period of consolidation. It was natural, for example, that in framing a constitution for the new Congress, which came into being in 1956, many concessions had to be made by various groups in order to reach an agreement.

There is a strong feeling that the time has now been reached when this situation can be reviewed and a somewhat different approach is possible if it is required.

The basic task of the Commission will be to determine just what is required, within the Congress and between affiliated unions, in order to meet the challenging times that lie ahead. The work of the Commission should provide a most valuable basis on which to build for the future.<sup>38</sup>

Ever since it was first introduced in Canada in the 1840s, international trade unionism has received criticism from within and without the Canadian labor movement. There were those who objected to imposing the international constitution on Canadian members and to the old AFL imposing its constitution on the equally old Dominion Trades and Labor Congress. There were those who objected to the export of membership fees and dues to the United States. In more recent date, there are those who object to the international rejecting terms of settlement agreed to by its Canadian local membership and the imposition of the AFL/CIO's wishes in Canadian jurisdictional disputes on the Canadian Labor Congress. There are those who fear that the internationals operating in Canada will conduct their affairs not in the interest of its Canadian membership but in the interest of its American membership. There are those who regard any participation of U.S. organizations in Canada with suspicion.

Although studies in the area of Canadian labor structure are few and far between it appears that there is simply no evidence that the international structure has any interest at heart other than the well being of its Canadian membership. The same is true for its leadership, both Canadian and American. However, there is one aspect of the international structure which not only has not received sufficient attention, but which is being used to seriously question the ability of the Canadian labor movement under its present international structure to come to grips with the challenges it faces in the 1960s.

On the one hand, under the international structure the Canadian portion of the movement is not sufficiently free nor sufficiently encouraged to undertake the much needed examination of its labor-management philosophy and the acceptance of this philosophy within Canadian society. On the other hand, it is the labor-management philosophy of the Canadian sections of international unions which are the center of criticism as the events of 1966 and 1967 have so aptly demonstrated. To be sure, the international conventions of the international unions spend a great deal of their time discussing and formulating labor-management philosophy, but these are national policies (i.e. U.S.) and it is the application of these policies in Canada which is being questioned. For the large part, there are no similar labor-management philosophy determining forums in Canada.

There are those who argue that the structure is not one that makes it likely that the international Canadian labor movement will be able to maintain its role and influence in Canadian society because its structure does not encourage the movement to increase its attention to the question of Canadian labor-management philosophy.

Note the words of William Dodge, Executive Vice-President of the Canadian Labor Congress, when he wrote recently on the subject of the influence of international unions in Canada.

During the past few years both labor and management in Canada have been engaged in a vigorous discussion of economic planning and their roles in it. As a result of these discussions, exciting new agencies have come into being - the Economic Council of Canada and numerous regional planning bodies.

Labor and management are both being obliged to think out their roles in economic planning in a very profound way. They are beginning to realize that their demands upon the

economy must take into account the national interest. They are moving inexorably toward exploration of such concepts as incomes policy, industrial rationalization and more government intervention in economic affairs.

It is in such areas that the independence of Canadian management and labor becomes important, because it is by no means clear that the economic interests of Canada can be served adequately by adopting policies similar to those followed in the United States or acceptable to government, business and labor in the United States.<sup>39</sup>

Under the international structure, the basic labor-management philosophy of Canadian branches is greatly influenced by the policies set down in the constitutions and conventions of the international organizations, organizations in which the large majority of members and contracts are located in the United States. As a result, the collective bargaining policies of branches of international unions in Canada have been arrived at in the light of the economic and social realities of the United States. It is these policies which the international membership is duty bound to uphold and follow.

It may be argued that several international unions do call together its Canadian membership for the purpose of setting policies to govern its Canadian activities. The policy conference of the steelworkers is an example. Similar sessions are held by the meat packers, auto workers, oil-chemical workers, operating engineers, and the Canadian Railway Labor Executive Association. However, only a few of the 111 international unions in Canada hold such meetings. In addition, and this is the main point, the reported proceedings of unions which do hold Canadian policy conferences reflect the sentiment and philosophy of the labor-management philosophy set down by the international unions. Most

of the time is spent formulating the specific requests for the upcoming negotiations. There can be little doubt that the decisions reached in these meetings are greatly influenced by the basic philosophy and policies arrived at in the American proceedings. In other words, the American proceedings set out the basic general terms of reference and provide a back-stop against which the specific Canadian decisions are made.

It is not suggested here that international unions intentionally restrict " . . . the freedom of Canadian branches to make decisions based on national needs, aspirations and conditions . . . ." <sup>40</sup> Nor is it suggested that the international forces Canadian branches to adopt international collective bargaining policies. In both situations, the desire and ability of the international to influence Canadian branches is no different than its desire and ability to influence U.S. branches. And this desire and ability varies considerably from one union to another. As has been pointed out in several recent studies, both contentions cannot be supported by the facts. What is suggested is that due to the international structure " . . . national needs, aspirations and conditions . . . ." are not sufficiently stressed in the formulation of the labor-management philosophy to be followed by the branches of international unions operating in Canada.

Except for those international unions which provide for some type of forum within which to develop the policies to be followed in its Canadian section, it is difficult to see how these issues can receive the amount of attention they must have under the present structure. It is unrealistic to look to the Canadian Labor Congress for leadership. First, the Canadian Labor Congress, being a creation of its affiliates is able

to concern itself only with matters that its affiliates approve of. It is unlikely that affiliates would accept CLC leadership on matters within the labor-management arena. By and large, the discussions at CLC conventions are void of any meaningful examination of the labor-management philosophy to be followed by its affiliates. The CLC's inability to introduce and successfully operate inter-union jurisdiction dispute settling procedures is a good example of its affiliates' attitude toward CLC attempts to regulate or influence the labor-management field. In addition, in a recent editorial, the CLC's publication Canadian Labor emphasized that the CLC undertook three functions on behalf of its affiliates - legislative, co-ordinating, and service.<sup>41</sup>

Further, in an article under the title of "The Influence of International Unions" William Dodge, Executive Vice-President of the CLC, undertook to illustrate that the CLC and its affiliates are not under U.S. control. He attempted to do this by identifying a number of areas where the CLC and its affiliates' position is contrary to the AFL/CIO and its affiliates' position. These areas were, 1) political action, 2) international affairs, 3) world trade union affairs, 4) economic planning. It is of interest to note that the first three of these areas do not relate directly to the labor-management field. The 4th area - economic planning - does. Here are some of the words used by Mr. Dodge on this subject:

The Canadian labor movement has declared itself for economic planning but labor in the United States is still hesitant and suspicious. Canadian labor may eventually be obliged to make choices and perhaps commitments which will meet with stern disapproval among labor leaders in the United States.

This may very well require independent action on structure and policy which will present many complex problems. It

will be difficult to effect mergers or revise jurisdiction and structures to suit Canadian policy requirements if such decisions are not simultaneously being made in the United States. I say difficult but not impossible, I think it has been established that we are capable of making our own decisions in Canada and determined to act in the interests of our own country and our own people.<sup>42</sup>

As noted earlier, the events of 1966 and 1967 were not unique in the history of Canadian labor-management relations, but yet they have brought forth unprecedented comment from all quarters of Canadian life. In large measure, this situation, as Mr. Dodge has pointed out, is a result of increased concern over the health of the Canadian economy and increased attention with the concept of economic planning. The labor-management disputes and the terms of settlement which were so widely heralded in 1966 and 1967 run counter to this increasing commitment to a smooth functioning and well planned economic system. In the areas of management of the economy and progress towards economic planning there is an ever increasing gulf between Canadian and American thinking and practice. The economic underpinnings of Canada are not the same as those of the United States. The structure of our industry and the role of industries in our economy is quite different. As a result, Canadian labor's labor-management philosophy which assumes a transferability from the United States to Canada is having and will continue to have difficulty in finding acceptance in Canada's contemporary economic and social scene.

#### Role Of The CLC In Jurisdictional Disputes

Attempts within the House of Labor to establish effective self administered machinery for resolving jurisdictional disputes and eliminating raiding have met with only limited success. In 1960, the

Executive Council of the Canadian Labor Congress adopted a code of organizing practices which was designed to eliminate raiding by replacing it with orderly organizing methods. In 1964, the CLC convention adopted an Internal Disputes Procedure which was designed to resolve conflicting jurisdictional claims. However, when faced by the commitment of national and international unions to the traditional jealously guarded jurisdictions, the CLC simply has no way in which it can make the outcome of the machinery stick. As noted earlier, the Canadian Labor Congress is the " . . . creature of its affiliated organizations."

William Dodge, Executive Vice-President of the Canadian Labor Congress has stated the problem this way:

I think, however, there is a great deal of misunderstanding about our role in the settlement of jurisdictional disputes and raids. It must be remembered that, when the TLC and the CCL merged in 1956, we created the greatest hodge-podge of jurisdictional overlaps imaginable, and this was done in the firm belief that unions had to learn to live together in peace and harmony, or perish.

. . . . . , . . . . .

The Conventions of the CLC have adopted a Constitution which gives limited authority to deal with jurisdictional disputes. We can use our powers of persuasion, and have done so successfully on a great many occasions, but we have no disciplinary powers. This is understandable, because the jurisdictional lines between unions are so blurred as to make the exercise of such powers almost impossible.

In the case of raids, however, we do have disciplinary power. We have the power to suspend or expel from the Congress a union which violates the constitutional provisions on raiding. This latter power is not vested in the officers, nor in the Executive Council. It is vested in the Convention, and is carried out by the vote of the delegates from all affiliated unions.

. . . . .

This power was not granted with a "tongue-in-cheek" attitude, as I recall it. We all felt that we were ushering in a great new era of friendly relations - friendly rivalry, if you like - between unions within one family. More important, we felt that, unless we could achieve a rule of law in our relations with one another within the CLC, we might as well say good-bye to our hopes for organizing the vast army of unorganized workers who remained and still remain outside of the labor movement.<sup>43</sup>

To be sure, the Congress has been successful in resolving hundreds of jurisdictional disputes and raids, and it is fair to say that most national and international unions accept CLC involvement and are prepared to comply. However, in other cases the CLC's "persuasion" and constitution have not proven sufficient, and it is these disputes which have been so forcefully brought to public attention. In April of 1960, the CLC convention expelled the International Brotherhood of Teamsters for deliberate, premeditated, and repeated raiding of sister affiliates of the CLC. Most people found the conduct and attitude of the Teamsters most obnoxious. In February 1966, the National Plate Printers, Die Stampers, and Engravers Union of North America and the United Steelworkers failed to comply with the decision of the Internal Dispute Procedures and consequently the executive was forced to issue a notice of noncompliance. At the 1966 convention of the CLC, the Executive Council report commented on the effectiveness of the procedures:

The internal disputes settlement procedure adopted as amendments to Article III of the Congress Constitution at the last Convention has proven to be quite successful. Experience to date would indicate that, while it is a great improvement on the previous procedure, it still has a number of weaknesses, and it is hoped that further experience will serve to demonstrate what steps should be taken to make it even more effective.<sup>44</sup>

The existence of "blurred jurisdictional lines between unions" not only permits disputes over jurisdiction and encourages raids, but also has the effect of concentrating organization efforts in those traditional occupations and industries. However, the Canadian labor force and Canadian industry is undergoing rapid structural change, and as this occurs, new occupations and industries are not receiving the much needed attention of the Canadian trade union movement. As William Dodge has cogently stated:

These unorganized workers are for the most part white-collar workers, workers with some scientific training, and workers in the service industries, all notoriously difficult to organize. If we cannot show conclusively that we have within the CLC a united labor movement, determined to outlaw unethical practices, and to organize the unorganized, instead of disorganizing the already organized, we are going to get nowhere in our efforts to bring these new people into our movement.<sup>45</sup>

There are those who argue that in order to find an accommodative role in contemporary society the Canadian trade union movement must once and for all, through mergers and consolidations, define for itself a much broader jurisdiction for national and international unions within the class collaboration philosophy. The philosophical element of rigid occupational and industrial jurisdiction, an element of philosophy which dates back to the Berlin Declaration of 1903, is obsolete as it unnecessarily confines the role of trade unionism in contemporary society. It provides the basis for possible image deteriorating jurisdictional disputes and raids and does not permit the movement to easily respond to the ever increasing occupational and industrial changes in Canada. It is an aspect of philosophy which reinforces much of what the public dislikes in the Canadian labor scene.



PART IV

CONTENT OF TRADE UNION PHILOSOPHY

I. PHILOSOPHY ON INTERNAL ISSUES: A SUMMARY

Labor-Management Relations

The labor-management relationship is the raison d'etre of trade unionism in Canada. Along with issues relating to internal trade union affairs (these two categories are not unrelated) it occupied the central stage in Canadian trade union philosophy.

It would be difficult to conceive of the labor-management relationship as we know it in Canada without trade unionism. Since their inception, they have devoted the vast bulk of their efforts to this activity and through it they have worked consistently towards obtaining what they consider to be just returns for their membership. To unions fall not only the parentage of the concept, but also the ever present force urging its nurture and development. By and large, this relationship has been foisted upon most unwilling employers. It has been bitterly contested and the labor movement, despite its vast commitment and resources, was never quite able to force its acceptance. During the war years, the Government of Canada stepped in on the side of labor. However, the fact that Government supported the precepts of the union desired relationships meant only that recognition was forced and that employers were dragged kicking and screaming to the bargaining table. The legal foundations did not bring forth acceptance of the relationship by Canadian employers. This sharp difference between trade unions and employers over the existence, principle, and form of the labor-management relationship has been and continues to be the barrier to a harmonious, co-operative, and useful

labor-management relationship. These differences have resulted in the formulation of a relationship which is adversary in character. One must question, recognizing the nature of present day issues in labor relations, if this type of relationship will bring forth the understanding and co-operation needed to resolve these issues. Note the position taken by J.E. McGuire, National Secretary of the CBRT:

The basic interest of the owner of the means of production lies in making the greatest amount of profit . . . . the basic interest of the worker lies in obtaining, for the only product he has to sell - his labor - the best possible wage and other working conditions. There is a conflict of interest here, and no good will be served by glossing it over. This conflict of interest has been, in my opinion, the most important factor in developing trade unions as we know them today. Resolving this conflict of interest, as far as this is possible in our present economic society, is a task of those who carry on collective bargaining.<sup>48</sup>

Trade union labor-management philosophy has not only been consistently stated during the period under review but also most clearly articulated. It is a philosophy which is built upon four primary precepts:

- (a) the right to organize trade unions freely and without interference from an employer,
- (b) commitment to the processes of collective bargaining and economic sanctions,
- (c) the facilitating or mediating role of government and government agencies, and
- (d) the doctrine of the equality of labor and management in the industrial relations relationship.

Today, the first three precepts are part of the laws governing labor-management relations. The fourth, a matter of equality, cannot be legislated but must flow from the philosophies of the parties to the

relationship. Over these precepts the trade unions are not prepared to negotiate. They are solid, internationals as well as nationals, in their commitment despite differences they have over other issues in philosophy. They are as much a part of trade unionism as conflict is part of the labor-management relationship.

Trade union views on the right to organize were clearly and succinctly stated by A. R. Mosher in his Labor Day address in 1941, a year in which the legal right to organize began its gradual transformation to what it is today. However, the philosophy remains the same:

Considerable progress has been made during the past year in organizing new groups of workers, but in every case it has been accomplished in spite of the opposition of the employers, who have used every conceivable method to deprive Canadian workers of a right which is legalized in the United States and in Great Britain.

Workers endeavour to become organized in labor unions because they realize that this is the only way by which they can protect themselves against arbitrary and unfair treatment by employers; it is the only way by which they can improve their standard of living; it is the only way by which they can bring their views to the attention of governments . . . it is the only way by which they can play their proper part in the war effort and in the period of postwar reconstruction.

Industrial harmony and efficient production results from mutual respect and confidence; the workers of Canada, at a time when their services are needed, cannot be treated like slaves; they are human beings, with rights as well as duties.

The workers of Canada, in ever increasing numbers, are becoming organized. They will continue to organize, in spite of opposition from employers or the failure of the government to respect and enforce its own policy. They will organize to protect not only their own interests as workers, but their interests as citizens of democracy.<sup>49</sup>

Of the four precepts outlined above, the cornerstone of trade union labor-management philosophy is its commitment to the processes of collective bargaining and its use of economic sanctions. Speaking to a group of businessmen in 1950, J. E. McGuire put labor's case this way:

Modern collective bargaining has been one of the major sociological and economic developments of the twentieth century. Although it has made more progress during the last decade than during any previous period, it is necessary for me to sketch in the work and purposes of organized labor if we are to have a clear understanding of why we have been able to accomplish so much through collective bargaining . . . .

Surprisingly enough, there are some individuals who cannot see why collective bargaining should be necessary, who believe that a form of individual bargaining such as existed in pre-industrial revolution days will do. These individuals forget that tremendous power and authority is invested in those who own the means of production; forget that the power to employ and pay wages carries with it the power to determine the standard of living of the great majority of our people. Let us remember too, that we cannot turn back the clock so far as our industrial and economic structure is concerned. We cannot go back to the simple relationship that existed long ago between master and servant. Even if we could, I am sure we don't want to. The present organization of industry makes it essential that those employed in industry organize themselves into bona fide trade unions and, through them, deal collectively with their employers. I know of no other way by which the opposing basic interest of the two parties can be adjusted on a basis that will be mutually satisfactory.<sup>50</sup>

To Canadian trade unionists the right to call a work stoppage is an essential part of the collective bargaining process. It is the ingredient in the process which forces the parties to a settlement position. To W. J. Smith, President of the CBRT, any actions " . . . which takes away from workers the traditional and inherent right to strike . . . are the weapons and policies of totalitarian regimes; it has no place

in a society which calls itself free and democratic; it has no place in Canadian life."<sup>51</sup>

To David Lewis, speaking before the National Conference on Labor Legislation, September, 1966 " . . . the right to strike is an essential part of the right of association . . . ." and " . . . a strike is the workers only effective weapon to achieve improvements when peaceful negotiations have failed." Further, " . . . those of us who have had experience in negotiations know that without the possibility of economic action hanging over both parties, collective bargaining would become a sham in most cases. It is not so much the strike itself, but the threat of a strike, which is the important weapon in collective bargaining."<sup>52</sup>

The Canadian Union of Public Employees, apparently anxious over the possible over concern with the strike weapon by public employees expressed the following cautious note on the function of the work stoppage in the public sector:

We would suggest without the right to strike there is no genuine collective bargaining. There is no incentive for the employer to make concessions and there is no urgency or haste to bring cases to speedy and acceptable conclusions. Without the right to strike the Civil Service can only expect to continue to lag behind the private sector of the economy by about two years, which is the length of time it is likely to take to get statistics on outside rates of pay and conditions of employment. These statistics are of course the pattern setting factors in a scheme of wage setting that is not motivated by the necessity for avoiding strike. For what government, conciliator, or arbitrator would be so brave as to overtake the private sector of the economy in raising wage rates or improving conditions of employment?

We would suggest that the Civil Servants should retain the right to strike and that this will make them no less responsible than they have been throughout years of being ignored and underprivileged. The use of the right to strike by Civil Servants should be governed by the same morale and

practical principles that apply in all responsible unions. We would suggest that these could be defined as follows:

1. Since the strike is extremely an undesirable thing for all concerned, every avenue of possible settlement should be explored before strike action is taken.
2. The issue at stake must be of sufficient importance to warrant such drastic action.
3. The calling of a strike is the joint responsibility of employer and employees and consequently the employer must be given an opportunity of reaching a settlement before labor is actually withdrawn.

If the government can move quickly and establish effective bargaining machinery without delay, and if they do not get side tracked with extended discussions on the right to strike, then the chances are that good employer/employee relations will develop. The possibility of such a happy relationship will be enhanced if both sides become less strike conscious than they are at the present time.<sup>53</sup>

Labor's views not only on the strike issue but also on the whole of the collective bargaining process have been most clearly articulated at times when a move is afoot to deny the strike or amend existing bargaining procedures. The discussion of proposals to replace the strike with arbitration provides an excellent example. The following observations of W. J. Smith, National President of the CBRT, while lengthy, fully set forth the labor view:

Organized labor's attitude towards compulsory arbitration is well known. We are against it. But there is more to our opposition than most people suppose. We are not opposed to arbitration only because we think it is bad for labor, but because arbitration would mean the end of genuine collective bargaining and we would thus be substituting something that won't work and can't work for something that does.

Now, one of the realities of life in a free economy is that there is no set formula for the establishment of wages and working conditions. A 'fair' wage is strictly

a matter of opinion and is apt to vary depending on whether you're giving it or getting it. All any of us know is that it is probably somewhere in between what a wage earner wants and what his employer wants to pay. Our present method of handling industrial disputes is possible because there is a discrepancy between what the worker wants and is willing to accept, and between what the employer wants to pay and what he can pay.

Collective bargaining is a method by which we narrow down and seek to eliminate these discrepancies - find out what the worker is really willing to work for and what the employer really can pay. No one would suggest that an outside arbiter is in a better position than the employer to say what he really can pay, or in a better position than the worker to say what the worker is really willing to accept. But the advocates of compulsory arbitration naively suppose that they can eliminate the strike weapon and that collective bargaining will go on much as before; that the compromises made by each side because they fear a strike will still be made when there is nothing left to fear.

When, as in Australia, all disputes are settled by arbitration, there is no longer a pattern for arbiters to follow. They must find their own principles to serve as a guide to their decision.

There are no such principles to be found. This is the crux of the whole question of whether compulsory arbitration is advisable or workable. If there are generally accepted principles for the determination of wages and working conditions, then we ought to have compulsory arbitration, but arbitration operating only within those principles. Merely to state the proposition reveals its impracticality.

But the difficulty of finding generally accepted principles for the determination of wages does not spring entirely from differences between labor and management. Within industry, and within labor, there are no generally accepted principles for determining wages.

To summarize: compulsory arbitration is unworkable; first of all because it is assumed that it will deal only with disputes that would otherwise result in strikes while, in fact, almost all disputes will land with the arbiters, since arbitration will end the compromises that are now made

because both sides fear a strike; secondly, because a ban on all strikes is impossible to enforce and thirdly, because there are no generally accepted principles for arbiters to use in the absence of patterns established voluntarily.<sup>54</sup>

Labor philosophy towards government participation in the labor-management relationship has waivered between total support and total opposition. Which position labor takes seems to depend upon which side of the relationship government comes in on. Labor's philosophy in this sense seems to be quite completely pragmatic. However, it has consistently expressed the view that government's role should be completely one of "facilitating" the labor-management relationship, particularly the areas of organizing and the collective bargaining process. In the words of Cleve Kidd, speaking before the Twelfth Annual Conference of the Industrial Relations Center at McGill University, and referring to recent police activities during strikes, these actions have " . . . severely impaired, and will eventually destroy, government's effectiveness in performing its stated task, that of mediating labor-management disputes."<sup>55</sup> In a later address he put it this way: " . . . the role of government in industrial relations in a democracy should be the positive encouragement of direct collective bargaining between management and unions on the highest level which the maturity of both sides will permit."<sup>56</sup>

It is abundantly clear that the trade unions believe that government has a tendency to go beyond its "facilitating" or "minimum of interference" role. When this occurs labor is most forceful in its response. Government intervention into the collective bargaining process at the time of a work stoppage and the introduction of labor relations

boards into the Canadian industrial relations system represent two excellent examples. Two of the industries reviewed in this study - railways and steel - not only are key industries in the Canadian economy, but also have a history of government intervention into the collective bargaining process at the time of a work stoppage. In other industries labor indicated that even the government sponsored conciliation process wasn't warranted, or best, was cautiously accepted.

In 1939, the CBRT expressed concern over the lack of "guiding principles" that conciliation boards could use in formulating wage recommendations:

The conciliation boards which now deal with labor disputes are composed of a member nominated by the employees, one nominated by the employers, and a chairman elected by these two. They have no general guiding principles, but are influenced by the circumstances of the case before them. In most instances, majority and minority reports are issued. The chairman is in a position to be really impartial, but his findings are usually based less upon an estimate of the economic effects of a particular wage alteration than upon his estimate of the attitude and relative strength of the disputants.

The right of the workers to organize, and through their organizations to adjust conflicting interests by discussion and action with the rules set by law, is the essence of democracy.<sup>57</sup>

To the Packinghouse Workers, divided industrial relations jurisdictions created "patchwork" conciliation. In 1954, it reported " . . . for the first time in the history of our organization, we have tried to use the conciliation machinery established by the various Provincial Governments as a method of reaching an agreement . . . . At best, the experience cannot be called an unqualified success."<sup>58</sup>

In 1958 their views had not changed much:

The longer the United Packinghouse Workers of America attempt to get conciliation of its dispute with the 'big three' meat packing companies . . . the clearer it becomes that there is no logic whatever in forcing the union to conciliate its dispute on a Provincial basis.

We are trying to do the right thing, by going through the slow, cumbersome procedure, complying with the laws as they are. But we feel that in turn Government should recognize the impossibility of the present situation and make the necessary changes to permit us to really conciliate these agreements on a national basis.<sup>59</sup>

In 1955, Eugene Forsey, Research Director for the Canadian Congress of Labor posed the question: "Conciliation Boards, An Unnecessary Evil?"<sup>60</sup> After being on a short end of the 1955 conciliation board report at Ford, the UAW launched a vigorous campaign for the outright removal of boards from Ontario's labor laws. They felt that the majority report in question was "scandalizing" and "insulting."<sup>61</sup>

A few years later, the UAW's John Elden and George Burt charged that the conciliation system represents the " . . . greatest hurdle to the conclusion of collective agreements" and identified it as the " . . . best weapon against the unions . . . because it puts a premium on stalling contracts."<sup>62</sup>

In some cases, government intervention in collective bargaining has gone beyond the conciliation procedures to the point of subsequent intervention at the time of a possible work stoppage. Referring to the experience of the unions on the Canadian railroads E. G. Jones expressed it this way:

While the procedures to be followed may be tedious and perhaps superfluous, yet under the existing laws, they must be followed, from the presentation of demands, exploratory meetings, unavoidable delays, conciliation, arbitration, months of presentation of statistics, graphs, charts, and so on. Then the arbitration award which is rarely satisfactory to either party. The procedure of taking a strike vote follows and after the result is known the setting of the date for the cessation of operations.

Both sides being adamant, government intervention ensues and the workers are forced back to work under the threat or possibility of the enactment of repressive labor legislation by the government.

Where does all this get us. Simply to the government of the day. All of the months of proceedings, the millions of words, the reams of paper are merely paper records with the actual decision being made by those who have had the problem thrust upon them in the last few days of the controversy."<sup>63</sup>

By and large, the unions studied expressed much greater respect for and commitment to the various labor relations boards than intervention into the bargaining process. On the one hand, the boards represented the vehicle through which their organizations became recognized but, on the other hand, they were viewed with considerable suspicion. Some charged that their policies and procedures worked against the objectives of trade unionism. In 1960 the UE charged in a brief presented to the Ontario legislature that ". . . companies have been using anti-union petitions to thwart the legitimate aims of their employees to collective bargaining. Use of these petitions under the present act, was frustrating the legal rights of workers in Ontario to union representation and collective bargaining rights."<sup>64</sup>

Gordon Milling, writing in 1959 summed up trade union anxieties this way. "Most criticism of board activities begins with objection to

a particular decision. From this starting point come criticisms of procedure, 'arbitrary' attitudes, prejudice and so on. Because boards and commissions must make decisions which affect private interests, criticism is inevitable. Occasionally it is deserved."<sup>65</sup> The trade union view on the role of government in the labor-management relationship was cogently summarized by Cleve Kidd the research director for the United Steelworkers. His views while lengthy, are representative of both international and national union thought:

The role of government in industrial relations in a democracy should be the positive encouragement of direct collective bargaining between management and unions on the highest level which the maturity of both will permit. Our laws and their administration, far from encouraging labor-management responsibility, are weighted increasingly in favor of greater and greater management advantage.

The certification procedure, far from encouraging collective bargaining, is limiting the area of such bargaining. Our compulsory conciliation procedure, which I once supported, is becoming less and less a proper process for encouraging collective bargaining between the parties and increasingly a device for aiding management maneuvers. This trend, unless quickly reversed, is breeding cynicism about the whole idea of respect for the law and is reintroducing an aspect of class struggle in which a professional management class has replaced the traditional owning class as the special beneficiary of government and judicial privilege.

While for some years it may have been the intention of government to limit interference in trade union affairs, at the same time there was developing a body of opinion which held that the interests of all concerned, unions, management, and the public, would best be served by rules which would prescribe the activities to be pursued by both parties directly involved in industrial relations.

This theory of the role of government in industrial relations has resulted in some legislation that is unique to political democracies. I refer to the compulsory conciliation procedures which are common to both federal and provincial jurisdictions. It has also resulted in the use of police

in strike situations - almost invariably to protect the interests of management. Ironically enough, this has seriously impaired, and will eventually destroy, government's effectiveness in performing this stated task, that of mediating labor-management disputes.

Mandatory recognition on certain defined basis was given. In exchange for this, however, labor lost, (or was severely restricted in) some other rights. The list of inhibitions and prohibitions placed on labor in the legislation under which we operate includes compulsory conciliation, compulsory arbitration of grievances, hemming in, restricting and hedging on the right to strike, interference with labor's jurisdictional problems, and other matters, such as the licensing of unions, as prescribed in Newfoundland.

The majority of trade unionists in Canada accepted conciliation from the outset as part and parcel of the new techniques of industrial relations. They accepted the premise that such methods were valuable in assisting the parties involved in negotiations, and apparently when unable to resolve their conflicts, to arrive at agreement. Unionists also accepted the premise that the concomitant of such government activities was the promotion of industrial peace. They acknowledged that this was indeed a very fair and objective method of arriving at an agreement mutually satisfactory to both parties. All of these premises were accepted because, as is usually overlooked, it is the striker who suffers most from the strike. A worker strikes only when he believes that there is no other alternative left for him.

However, unionists have also been aware of the delight of governments when a conciliation board reported settlement, regardless of whether the contents of the settlement package were fair and equitable to all concerned. Such evidences of delight are also seen at the board level.

In fact, it is this 'settlement at all costs' approach, taken together with other factors mentioned later, which may well be at the bottom of the apparently changing attitudes of some trade unionists toward the whole conciliation process.

Although there is a growing apathy in Canada towards conciliation as it has developed, this does not mean that conciliation has not served useful purposes in the past. Indeed it has.

What do unions expect from governments in the area of industrial relations.

First of all, they expect a minimum of interference. Once the public interests are safeguarded there ceases to be justification for the enactment of innumerable laws hemming in, hedging and restricting in every way unions and the activities of voluntary organizations of citizens in what is proclaimed to be a free society.

Only in countries like Canada and the United States where the main concern of government is apparently to protect the privileges of private enterprise, are unions interfered with in every possible way short of complete regulation. If the pattern of control that has been established on both sides of the border is continued it will eventually lead to destruction of many more of our democratic freedoms.

Next, unions expect governments to recognize their unquestioned rights to organize. Free and voluntary organizations are not only a right in a democratic society, they are in fact fundamental bulwarks in the maintenance of such societies.

In this regard the concept of certification as now practiced in Canada is open to serious question. When a board established by legislation can determine who may or may not belong to a union, can determine bargaining units, can demand formal proof of membership in a union, can establish numerical requirements, these and other factors all interfere with legitimate trade union activities and have quite often defeated a union's attempts at organization.

Unions would also expect, from a government that believes in collective bargaining, legislation which forbids the employer from attempting to open his plant by hiring strike breakers after a strike has begun. In other words, a person's job would be protected during a period of dispute.

We would also expect to see the use of injunctions in industrial disputes radically altered. Injunctions have invariably been used for the purpose of limiting the effectiveness of strikes, and in this sense they have supported the use of strike breakers.

Labor would also expect that amendments to the BNA act would be introduced to permit national collective bargaining with companies operating in more than one province. They would not only end the growing disparities in provincial labor legislation, at least for some major industries, but would

also help to eliminate some sources of industrial friction now existing.

Finally, we would expect the type of government that labor could espouse to adopt a positive program for the more even distribution of the wealth produced by our members, a program of full employment, and a program of rising living standards. All of these things we believe would be of the greatest help in reducing industrial strife. Present day labor legislation with all its compulsory features would cease to exist as labor became an equal partner in the society it helped to produce.<sup>66</sup>

The concluding reference in the above quotation to the equality of labor as a partner in Canadian industrial society introduces the fourth and last precept within trade union philosophy in the area of labor-management relations. Despite the law and the long experience of the relationship, trade unions are convinced that this precept has not been established. Equality is basic to the trade union view of the labor-management relationship and its absence continues to frustrate the Canadian industrial relations scene. In terms of equality, of a partnership, labor, management, and government just do not view the relationship in the same way. This longing for true recognition (not just legal recognition) explains the constant references by labor to the industrial relations systems of other countries - countries in which there is much greater de facto equality than in Canada. To the Canadian trade union movement, equality and partnership are the essence of its labor-management relationship and the key to the development of an improved relationship. Evidence of the outlook is not difficult to locate in the labor press. Note the words of Murray Cotterill of the USW:

The real problem in Canada is that, in contrast with older and wiser lands, which have developed collective bargaining into a safe, sane system which keeps production and buying

power more or less balanced within the country, provides an incentive for more and more co-operation between employees and management in developing production, reduces strike-producing situations to a minimum, our Canadian collective bargaining techniques and labor laws accomplish none of these ends. We have not kept production and buying power balanced within our Canadian economy. We do not have maximum employee management co-operation in developing Canadian productivity. And instead of eliminating situations which could produce strikes, we simply keep on telling employees that if they dare to voluntarily go without their pay to try and secure justice from their employer, they may lose their jobs and be prosecuted as well.<sup>67</sup>

The issue of equality (or its converse, inequality) manifests itself most vividly in the continuing labor-management dialogue and controversy surrounding the question of "management's rights." Here, even the issue itself hints of an apparent inequality. Is it any wonder then that the Freedman report of 1965 was hailed by labor as its "magna carta." The editor of the CBRT journal identified its important character:

. . . the Winnipeg Jurist has dismissed as unjust and outmoded the theory of residual rights - the theory that management can do anything not expressly prohibited by the terms of a contract. This is the theory evoked by employers to excuse their unilateral decisions on automation, a theory which unfortunately has been upheld by many noted lawyers, magistrates, conciliators, and tribunals in the past, as well as being passively endorsed by existing labor legislation.

Thanks to the Freedman report, the day may not be too far off when all Canadian unions will be able to sit down and bargain with employers on a basis of true equality.<sup>68</sup>

The issue of equality, of partnership, of co-operation did not just suddenly emerge out of the dispute preceding the efforts of Mr. Justice Freedman. It has been with labor since the inception of the trade union. Clearly, the introduction of recognition under the law did not bring forth these elements to the Canadian industrial relations

system. M. M. Maclean editor of the Canadian Railway Employees Monthly wrote in 1941 thusly:

A good deal of the ill will which exists between employers and employees is due to the fact most employers have always tended to regard their workers as commodities to be rationalized along with machines and raw materials. The fact that workers insisted on being human beings first and chose to act in unison to obtain certain advantages for themselves ran contrary to this conception. The result was usually discrimination and industrial strife. Of recent years, however, the more enlightened employer has learned to meet his employees half way by being ready at all times to adjust differences and above all, to recognize the right of his employees to bargain collectively for improvements in wages and conditions of work.

This process of enlightenment has not been as rapid as might be and every step in this direction must be hailed with satisfaction. It is gratifying, therefore, to quote from a report of a board of conciliation and investigation which appeared in the February issue of The Labor Gazette:

'The abstract rights which it is now considered to belong to labor, can only be said to exist in a concrete sense if collective bargaining is practiced and collective agreements concluded. It cannot be said too clearly that labor can no longer be regarded, if it ever was correct to do so, merely as a commodity. Labor is a partner in industry, and as such is entitled to have not only the right to organize but the corresponding right and opportunity to utilize its organization for collective negotiation and agreement with employers.'69

The type of relationship labor wants was obtained to a high degree in what has become to be known as the "Nova Scotia Labor-Management Experiment." This experiment represented a restatement of the philosophy of labor and management in that province and was the result of a 1962 appointed fact-finding committee under Judge A. H. MacKinnon and subsequent joint labor-management discussions held under the auspices of the Institute of Public Affairs at Dalhousie University. The report, which looked closely at the Swedish system, was well received by labor. To

Dwight Storey of the USW, Judge MacKinnon's recommendations were unique:

They were a refreshing unbiased approach to labor legislation in this country; they were neither anti-union or anti-management. One of his main recommendations was that organized labor and organized management had to decide whether they wanted governments to place them in a straight jacket, through legislation, or if they would be willing through meetings and by mutual agreement to work out their own problems and their own procedures.

. . . it is significant that, for the first time in Canadian history, prominent representatives of both organized management and unions attended a conference and agreed to say to the government: 'These are the changes we want in the Trade Union Act.' They also decided: 'This is the direction we think we should take and we do not want you (the government) to interfere beyond the things we believe you should do.' This is the first indication that in Canada we can move toward the European system in which organized labor and management work out their mutual problems without reference to government legislation. There is a real hope that this kind of approach in Nova Scotia will eventually develop into a new mature relationship between organized labor and management.<sup>70</sup>

Steel Labor acclaimed the new approach as one which may bring forth the needed "understanding and trust"<sup>71</sup> and William Mahoney, Canadian Director, USW and a participant in this "experiment," commented on the development this way:

We have all become increasingly convinced that the big advantage the Europeans enjoy over our Canadian way . . . is the spirit which lies behind the union-management relationship in Europe, Unions there represent and work for the interest of wage and salary earners just like Canadian unions. Management represents and works for the interests of ownership just like Canadian management. But, whereas we in Canada work for our respective legitimate interests at suspicious arms length and in our own interest only, unions and management in Europe work for their respective interests as partners, jointly disciplining themselves to serve the public interest first . . . .

The method which seems to have appealed most to Canadians in labor, management, and government is the extremely mature system which has been developed in Scandinavia and, in particular, in Sweden . . . but the common denominator of all the developments in all the European countries is that . . . management has not nearly 'recognized' the unions but has 'accepted' unions in the fullest possible way and both accept that neither side can advance its own legitimate interest unless the national and continental economy advances first.<sup>72</sup>

### Labor and Political Action

The labor movement in Canada has always demonstrated a keen interest in its relationship with Canadian political institutions, particularly socialist institutions. Simply stated, this interest was the result of the obvious relationship between advancing labor's economic interest on the one hand and the involvement of Canadian governments and their agencies on the other hand. As one labor columnist expressed it:

Unions are in the main economic organizations to fight economic battles. But no longer can the economic struggle be separated from the political struggle. The sooner we realize this and the sooner we realize that our economic gains can be wiped out by adverse legislation the easier will be our task for the future.<sup>73</sup>

Beyond this statement on the nature of labor's interest in politics, it is very difficult to generalize. The trade union movement has demonstrated deep seated differences over the character of this relationship. To some, the relationship should focus on working in the interests of labor within the particular political party in power. It emphasizes more the relationship with government as opposed to a particular political party. To others, the relationship should focus on direct labor support and commitment to a separate and distinct political party. To the former, the latter says existing parties (governments) will not support labor:

to the latter, the former says, why support a political party unless it is the party in government?

While it is difficult to generalize further on the trade union movements' philosophy on labor's role in the political arena, it is possible to identify several important basic features within the history of the philosophy which are important to understanding it.

First, the bulk of the activity and philosophical formulation has taken place at the level of national centers and in the executive councils of a few of Canada's major unions. It does not seem to have been an issue which has captured the attention and support of the rank and file and inferior bodies. The constant barrage of appeals found in union papers directed to a most unresponsive rank and file and pleading for rank and file support in labor's political efforts is a clear indication of this. To illustrate, in 1963, long after labor became directly involved in politics, Steel Shot addressed itself to the question: " . . . should labor be involved in politics." The Guardian of 1957 reported " . . . labor has trouble admitting that answers lie in politics." Ford Facts of 1957 asked the question: " . . . is labor political action necessary." In 1944, the frustrations of Local 195 News were summarized in its editorial "Where to Begin?" Speaking before a political education course in November 1965, D. N. Secord of the CBRT addressed the gathering in terms of trying " . . . to convince its members that they should vote for the NDP Party . . . ." and " . . . the elected officers of this brotherhood have no qualms about trying to persuade our members they should vote for the New Democratic Party, and we make no apology for it."<sup>74</sup>

Second, interest in the subject seems to vary depending how the trade union movement is being treated by the government of the day. Third, it has been intimately tied up with the personal beliefs and ambitions of an elite core of Canadian trade unionists and their relationships with each other. Fourth, it is an extremely complex history largely the result of the deep seated differences on the issue, and the subsequent balkinization of groups and individuals over it.

Fifth, labor's political philosophy (most certainly the appeals used to attract rank and file support to political action) is narrowly conceived and relates primarily to the passage of labor laws which compliment its philosophy in the labor-management field (economic). For example, the laws governing the right to organize and to strike, employer counter practices, and the conciliation process. It does not have the breadth of issues which are found in most political parties in Canada. It is to be contrasted with the political outlook of European labor parties such as the British labor party. Note the words of Andy Andras:

Why this preoccupation with politics? Why don't the unions stick to their main purpose, which is to look after the economic needs of their members through collective bargaining? The answer is that unions, and their members well-being, are directly affected by legislation and the policies of governments. Unions can and do bargain very confidently for wage and fringe benefits, but they can't bargain for better labor relations legislation, or improved workmen's compensation, or higher benefits under the Unemployment Insurance Act, or full employment, or subsidized housing and so on. What's more, as the Canadian economy grows larger and more complicated, and with it union management relations, the tendency is for more rather than less government participation in the affairs of business, unions, and other groups. This means that the unions have a very real interest in what kind of government is in power and in trying to persuade that government to fulfill labors wishes.<sup>75</sup>

Last, despite the time, effort, and brain power devoted to it, little in the way of meaningful results (the passage of laws favorable to labor) has ever been produced.

The history and the development of labor's philosophy of political action has been generated from the efforts of a number of Canadian trade union bodies, two political parties, and a number of prominent Canadian trade union leaders. The unions include the three national centers - the TLC, ACCL, and CCL; the communist controlled UE, FLW, SGWF of BC, and the IWA; the communist influenced UAW and MM; the strong supporters of the CCF, the USW and UPW; and the CBRT, ACWA, and the UMW, all of which favored the CCF. The political parties include the CCF and the LPP (communist). The leading personalities include Percy Bengough of the TLC, A. R. Mosher of the ACCL and CCL, Pat Conroy, Secretary-Treasurer and Chief Executive Officer of the CCL, Charles Millard, executive committee member of the CCL and Canadian head of the Autoworkers and Steelworkers respectively, George Burt, Canadian Director of the UAW, C. S. Jackson, District President of the UE, George Harris, Secretary-Treasurer of the UE, Fred W. Dowling, Canadian Director of the UPW, and David Lewis of the CCF.

The question of the role of the trade union movement in political affairs was one that was frequently debated in TLC conventions. In the convention of 1936 the long standing position of the TLC was stated once again. The following resolution was adopted in Vancouver in 1923 and subsequently confirmed in conventions held in 1924, 1929, 1930, 1931, 1932, 1933, 1935, 1936, 1937, 1938, and 1939:

Therefore, be it resolved, that labor political autonomy be left in the hands of the established labor political parties, and inasmuch as the Platform of Principles of this Congress contains the epitome of the best thought of organized labor during the whole period of its existence and struggles, that organized labor in Canada independently of any political organization engage in the effort to send a representative of the people to parliament, the provincial legislatures or other elective bodies in this country.

A TLC editorial in the Canadian Congress Journal for July 1935 elaborated on the practical meaning of this policy:

With a general election in the offing, the time would seem opportune to restate the nonpolitical character of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada. While every member enjoys the right and privilege to join and participate in the activities of any political party they may desire, our movement at the same time affords opportunity for each one, however strongly they may differ in politics, to work together for their common objectives as industrial workers.

This basic approach is often (quite incorrectly) referred to by Canadian trade unionist as "Gomperism." It is the philosophy of nonpartisan political activity but political activity just the same. It is the philosophy of "reward your friends and punish your enemies." Writing in 1962 Eugene Forsey, Research Director of the CLC quite rightly pointed out the inability to apply this tradition in Canada because of differences in the political structures and the mechanics of government in the two countries.<sup>76</sup> While Forsey's observations are pertinent, the TLC embraced the tradition not because of differences in the systems but because of its commitment to political non-alignment. This was the essence of the TLC position and it was on this issue that the TLC and CCL disagreed. Even within the politically active CCL, this did not become an accepted principle until the formation of the New Democratic Party. Even with that,

one must still question despite its "official" character how strongly this alignment is accepted within the labor movement today.

The differences which were to arise over the issue of political action were differences in methods and relationships not differences in principle. The questions which permeated the whole of the period under review were recently set down by Andy Andras in the pages of Canadian Transport:

. . . the trade unions have always been engaged in some form of political action. It is important to bear in mind that political action can take different forms. It may consist of the formation and active support of a labor party by the unions, which is what the British labor movement has done. It may consist of the endorsement of a party, not necessarily a labor party as such, which is what the former Canadian Congress of Labor did with the CCF. It may consist of legislative representations (lobbying in other words), and neutrality between parties; this was the position by and large, of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada.

The labor movement on this continent has been influenced by two outlooks. On the one hand, some have felt that labor should have its own party, whether a labor party or socialist party. Support for this viewpoint existed long before the CCF came into being. On the other hand, there have been the partisans of the so-called Gompers' policy of 'reward your friends and punish your enemies.' This was a policy of neutrality toward parties but support of or opposition to individuals on the basis of their record. This was essentially the AFL position which included legislative representations as well. The CIO, although it showed far less neutrality than the AFL, leaning more openly toward the Democratic Party, rarely even paid lip service to the idea of a separate labor party.

In more recent times, the difference between the two positions in Canada has taken the form of distinguishing between 'political action' and 'political education.' The former has become identified with the old CCL's endorsement and support of the CCF; the latter with legislative representations and educational programs about

labor legislation within the unions. This did not result in very clear cut distinctions between CCL and TLC unions, since some CCL unions did not support the CCF while some TLC unions did. Thus the two viewpoints cut across the whole labor movement in Canada, regardless of affiliation . . . .<sup>77</sup>

Throughout the decades of the thirties and in subsequent years the TLC, while possibly impressed with the successes of the recently established CCF, saw no reason to reverse its policy. As Gad Horowitz has put it:

Year after year the same arguments were reiterated by the leadership: the Congress serves a membership consisting of supporters of all political parties; the Congress must deal with governments controlled by various political parties; the Congress must therefore avoid all partisan entanglements. Any other course would divide the membership on political lines and impair the usefulness of the Congress as the 'legislative mouth piece of organized labor.'<sup>78</sup>

This disinclination of the TLC to align itself with the CCF was reinforced by the CCF's flirtation with the TLC's bitter enemy - the ACCL. Its leader, A. R. Mosher and his union, the CBRT, were in favor of independent political action by trade unions and frequent outspoken opponents of the firmly established TLC policy. The CBRT supported CCF programs. For a short time Mosher was active in the CCF leadership, and at one time plans were laid to affiliate his organization with it. However, no action was ever taken. CBRT views on political action (which link political action with trade union structure) were set forth in the following 1935 editorial which appeared in the Canadian Railway Employees Monthly:

The workers must ultimately develop and exert political power through their own labor party; they are entitled to direct representation in parliaments and legislatures,

at least in proportion to their numerical strength as citizens. They should ultimately be able to use their political power to establish a new social order. But they will never do this while the United States' unions divide them and repress their economic and political aspirations.

Their task is therefore primarily to establish Canadian unions, industrial in form and national in scope; to gain union autonomy, and build upon the foundation of their economic power whatever political organization may be necessary to realize the goal of the economic security and justice for all. No bypath, however alluring, should tempt them from the straight road to this objective; no propaganda should be permitted to cause any confusion of thought or purpose.<sup>79</sup>

Although Mosher and his organization never officially aligned themselves with the CCF, the damage was done as far as CCF - TLC relations were concerned. The CCF was tainted with opposition to international craft unionism and as such would not be enthusiastically supported even by socialists within the TLC.

With the emergence of CIO organization drives in Canada in 1937 and the formation of the CCL in 1940, Canadian trade union interest in political action noticeably quickened. The CCF found itself with no support. A key personality in this development and in the entire future of CCF/trade union relations in Canada was Charles Millard, director of the UAW's activities in Canada. A communist faction within the UAW succeeded in defeating him in 1939. Following his defeat he was appointed CIO secretary for Canada and in 1940 was appointed Canadian Director of the Steelworkers and Packinghouse Workers' Organizing Committees (SWOC and PWOC). In these positions, Millard was able to see to it that young CCF supporters were placed in leadership positions within the emerging CIO unions. At the time of the formation of the CCL in 1940 CCFer

David Lewis wrote:

From the CCF point of view the merger may prove of great value. Barrett of the CIO continues to be friendly and loyal . . . . Mosher, McLean, and Dowd of the ACCL have always been friendly to us. The result, it seems to me, will be that the new organization is likely to become a staunch supporter of the CCF. I realize that there are dangers, firstly, it will be important to walk warily so as not to provoke the enmity of the AFL unions. . . . secondly, there is a question of communists holding important positions in the CIO . . . .<sup>80</sup>

Between the years 1940 and 1944, a number of steps were taken which appear to lead to (a) recognition of the CCF as a political arm of the CCL, and (b) direct affiliation of labor bodies with the CCF. Earlier, in 1938, UMW District 26 had affiliated. In 1940, in order to facilitate the UMW affiliation, the CCF national convention adopted a constitutional amendment which provided for the affiliation of "economic organizations." In 1942 the Trade Union Committee of the Ontario CCF (CCF-TUC) held a conference at which 69 locals of TLC and CCL unions were represented. This conference passed the following resolution:

Be it resolved that we believe in and affirm that organized labor will be doing itself a great service and hastening the realization of its aims by entering into affiliation with the CCF . . . and that until such affiliation is an accomplished fact, this conference calls upon all unions to endorse the CCF as the political arm of the trade union movement in Canada.<sup>81</sup>

Finally, in October 1943, the CCL convention took the bull by the horns and formally consummated the CCF/CCL relationship. The following resolution was passed by a "tremendous" majority. "Whereas in the opinion of this Congress, the policy and program of the CCF more adequately express the viewpoint of organized labor than any other party. Be it therefore resolved that this convention . . . endorse the CCF as a political arm of labor in Canada, and recommend to all affiliated . . .

unions that they affiliate with the CCF.<sup>82</sup>

The editor of the Canadian Railway Employees Monthly commented:

. . . opposition came obviously and as had been anticipated from spokesmen for the so-called Labor Progressive Party, and allies for the still outlawed communist party, and only because definite action by the Congress at least stopped any possibility of gaining its support for their own political organization.

The closer association with the Congress and the labor movement which will now be developed will no doubt be reflected in the program of the CCF, and arrangements will be made whereby each affiliated and chartered union will know exactly what steps to take in affiliating with the CCF, and the rights and privileges which they will enjoy. Even on its present basis, the CCF has gained the loyalty and support of a large number of organized workers all over Canada, but it will be much stronger if the adherence of the workers is affected through their unions, and this procedure will also permit discussion of CCF policy at union meetings, with beneficial results to the workers and the labor movement.<sup>83</sup>

The communist attitude to the CCF at this time was that it could and should be transformed into a "true labor party," that is, that the communist party should be permitted to affiliate to it. The affiliation of communist dominated unions would be a step in the right direction; therefore the communist did not oppose the principle of affiliation per se. The CCF, however, was anxious to prevent union affiliation from being used as a technique of communist infiltration. The terms of affiliation therefore provided that union delegates to CCF conventions must either be themselves individual members of the CCF, or not be supporters of any other political party.<sup>84</sup>

Despite the years of continuous planning and the formalizing of arrangements, the affiliation program failed to come off. By the end of 1947 the number of affiliated locals had fallen to a low of 72. By 1952

they numbered only 44 with a total membership just over 16,000. Horowitz believes that the plan collapsed for four major reasons. First, a number of communist locals openly opposed affiliation. Second, the quite differing approach used by the American CIO unions to politics and perhaps direct negative pressure from international headquarters. Third, the leadership of the rival TLC had begun in 1940-1945 to build a closer relationship with the Liberal Government. Hence, CCL leaders were reluctant to do anything (such as push for affiliation) which may add to the advantages accruing to the TLC from its "nonpartisan" friendliness with government. Last, general voter support for the CCF had declined and with it the bandwagon atmosphere quickly depreciated.

In February of 1944, the CCL executive council established a Political Action Committee (PAC) for the purposes of implementing the resolution endorsing the CCF. This move set forth a complex set of developments not the least of which was open conflict within the communist supported CCL unions over the question of the relationship of PAC with the CCF.

In the words of the UAW's Local 195 News:

One of the chief obstacles to unity is the method of affiliation to the CCF. Under the existing setup a local union would affiliate all of its members but would only have one delegate at conventions to determine policy for each 100 members. This undemocratic setup has been opposed by the UAW, the United Electrical Radio and Machine Workers and other unions. Ontario leader E. B. Jolliffe has indicated that the constitution is flexible and may be changed.

Another obstacle to unity is the conflict between the CCF and the Labor Progressive Party. Unless this difference is breached we face the unfortunate spectacle of two labor candidates in many ridings in the next dominion election with the likelihood that the old line parties will benefit through this split.<sup>85</sup>

Charles Millard, chairman of PAC and an aggressive anticommunist saw to it that no communist elements were represented. However, Pat Conroy, Secretary-Treasurer of the CCL objected partly because of his continuing differences with Millard, and possibly because of his middle of the road approach to the communist element. He insisted that PAC should be formed as a CCL instrument for the support of the CCF and not as a body of CCF trade unionist as Millard would have it. Subsequently, the UE was invited to name a representative. This did not resolve the breach and the debate continued. Subsequently, as a result of Conroy's intervention and the ensuing discussions among the PAC leaders, Lewis, and the Congress executive it appears to have been agreed that Conroy's line would be followed. The PAC, while it would not renounce Congress policy of support for the CCF, would be a Congress PAC, representing all large unions in the Congress, rather than a "CCF committee." The political action resolutions submitted to the 1944 convention of the CCL authorized the establishment of provincial and local PAC's " . . . representative of organizations affiliated with the Congress." The PAC would try to "tie" the communist minority to Congress policies; but in order to do this it must make concessions to the communists' demand for "independence" of the PAC from the CCF. George Harris, Secretary-Treasurer of UE, became Second Vice Chairman of PAC. It was decided that despite the Congress' endorsement of the CCF, the PAC would draw up a legislative program of

its own and submit it to the leaders of all political parties in Canada. The program was adopted on August 12th. Vice chairman Harris voted against the preamble and most of the 29 clauses. He objected to the preamble, which mentioned the Congress' endorsement of the CCF, because it ". . . seeks to narrow the scope of . . . political action to one party and thus fails to create conditions which are indispensable in preventing the victory of reaction."<sup>86</sup>

At its meeting of November 16, 1944 it appeared that the internal divisions within PAC had been satisfactorily resolved through a Millard sponsored resolution which clearly identified PAC as a creature of the Congress and without connection with the CCF.<sup>86-A</sup> However, at its meeting of January 16, 1945, the CCF connection was again introduced through a resolution stating that since the CCF was the only party which had supported the PAC legislative program ". . . the national PAC-CCL affirms its endorsation of the CCF . . . and will do all possible to elect a CCF government at the next general election."<sup>87</sup> This move was too much for Harris (UE) and Morgan (IWA) and they quit.<sup>88</sup> Harris' action did not meet with approval of the executive of District 5 and they subsequently repudiated his actions. George Burt (UAW) indicated his intention of doing so and this was subsequently confirmed.<sup>89</sup> Gary Culhane of the BCFW also quit. The paper of local 200, Ford Facts, commented on the turn of events as follows:

Our opinion is based on the premise that labor cannot tie itself to the support of one political party. This opinion is based first, on the fact that all shades of political opinion are to be found among the union membership and second, that the CCL 1944 convention went

on record to pursue a nonpartisan PAC program which means that it will not tie itself to any special political party but with all groups, parties, individuals and unions willing to combine for the purpose of winning labor's demands. This is the policy of the PAC of the CIO in the U.S.A., and the policy of the international UAW.

It will be recalled that the UAW had once previously withdrawn from the PAC-CCL due to the narrow self-centered policies of C. H. Millard, who attempted to use the unions as a financial and electoral support for the CCF but denied us equal representation. Then at the 1944 CCL convention this matter was fought out and the UAW again rejoined the PAC, since it was agreed that party politics would be left out of the PAC and that PAC really become the political weapon of labor. Now the Millard - Park CCF group in the PAC again engineered a "palace revolution" and "captured" the PAC for the CCF.<sup>90</sup>

The UE, for its part, set up its own political action program and like the others who withdrew operated independently from the PAC-CCL. The following resolution adopted at the fifteenth annual convention of District 5 is representative of the position of the CCL unions operating outside the PAC-CCL group:<sup>91</sup>

The program and policy of UE has always recognized political action as an essential feature of trade union activity. We have striven to develop political action based upon winning the broadest support for labor's needs, legislative and otherwise. We have resisted and opposed the idea of narrow partisan political policy action as being divisive and actually resulting in a weakening of labor's role and legitimate objectives. Elections are imminent in a number of provinces which necessitates efforts to place a realistic program before the electorate. This fifteenth annual convention, District 5, UER and MWA, pledges itself to continue to seek support and unity around the essential features of our UE 5 Point Program and continue to make our legislative demands on governments based on that program, and we will use the period preceding elections to popularize on the broadest public basis the program of our union, and candidates in elections will be acquainted with the UE 5 Point Program, and we will do everything possible to assist candidates favorable to labor who are prepared to support our 5 Point Program and who have the best chance of election in the particular constituency.<sup>92</sup>

The UAW, having embraced its "win the peace" plan, in opposition to the PAC-CCL, ran three candidates in the Ontario Provincial Elections of 1945 and one of them, Alex Parent, received the nod of the electorate.<sup>93</sup>

Nothing much came of the PAC-CCL and following the election of 1945 it past pretty well out of existence. However, it was revived again a few years later.

In the 1948 Ontario election the Ontario Federation of Labor set up a PAC under the leadership of Steel's Murray Cotterill. This campaign was the first and last "unqualified success" of CCL political action in Canada. The CCL convention of 1948 resolved in favor of " . . . an effective program of political action" and threw its support behind the CCF party and its candidates. Subsequently, a PAC-CCL was setup by the executive to work on behalf of the CCF in the 1949 federal elections. Again, Murray Cotterill was its director. These efforts were in support of a losing cause as the CCF group in the Commons was reduced from 32 to 13. In November of 1949, the CCL executive decided to set up PAC as a permanent fixture under the leadership of Murray Cotterill.

At this point of time there was general agreement between the CCL and the CCF on CCF-PAC relations. According to Horowitz:

The official theory of the relationship between PAC and the CCF was that PAC in Canada (as in the United States) was the political instrument of the labor movement, independent of all political parties, but used in support of the political party which labor considered most friendly at any particular time. The official purpose of PAC was not to capture the labor vote for the CCF, but to capture it for PAC; not to educate workers to support the CCF, but to educate them to support the party endorsed by labor, which happens to be the CCF. In theory, labor's endorsement could be withdrawn from the

CCF and transferred to another party.<sup>93-A</sup>

Of probably greater importance was the unofficial theory behind this understanding. Horowitz continues:

. . . for the unofficial theory behind the official theory was that an independent PAC approach similar to that of the CIO was the only effective means of winning the votes of the rank and file. The purpose of PAC was to convince the majority of workers who voted liberal and conservative to switch their votes to the CCF.<sup>94</sup>

Despite this understanding, the specific details of the PAC-CCL relations with the CCF continued to be of considerable irritation to both parties. It lead in 1952 to the resignation of Murray Cotterill as director of PAC. He was replaced by Henry Weisbach. The differences centered on, (a) the degree of independence of PAC from the CCF and, (b) the degree of participation of PAC in CCF policy making bodies, particularly the nomination conventions. In the latter case, CCFer's were concerned about the possibility of "labor domination." Horowitz, commenting on the possible causes of these differences and mutual distrust emphasized some of the basic philosophical differences between the PAC-CCL and CCF views on the role of labor in political action. First, the unions tend to be moderate, reformist, practical, unconcerned with theory; the party activist tend to be "doctrinaire socialist." Second, the social background and behaviour of the unionist and their values which underlie their behaviour are quite different from those of the middle class members of the CCF. Third, the nonunionist in the CCF may share the generally unfavorable image held by most Canadians toward trade unions. Fourth, there may be a tendency among some party members to

resent labor's failure to support the CCF better than what it had.

Despite the differences, relations between PAC and the CCF continued to improve and gradually these differences became less and less of a problem. By the time of the 1952 CCF convention one observer noted that there was " . . . much more active consideration of affiliation now than at anytime since the end of the war."<sup>95</sup> However, with the talk of TLC/CCL merger and the well known sensitivity of the TLC to the question of political action no further steps were taken at that time.

The TLC position on the question of political action had not changed much over the years. However, support for a more positive program had increased and some of the affiliates were operating active trade union committees for political action. The major stumbling block continued to be the position of the leadership and the long standing official policy of the TLC. Then, after the TLC's 1953 convention, at which political action was discussed at length, the TLC president Percy Bengough resigned. He was succeeded by Claude Jodoin. Horowitz reports " . . . according to Donald MacDonald, one of the crucial developments which made possible the TLC/CCL agreement on political policy for the new merged Congress was the replacement of Bengough by Jodoin in the midst of the merger negotiations."<sup>96</sup>

The basic strategy taken by the CCL merger discussants was to avoid if possible the political action question. They believed, and quite rightly so, that it need not be one of the terms of merger. It could be worked out later. On May 9, 1955 the CCL/TLC Unity Committee

agreed on a statement of principles. There was no reference to political activity. The Unity Committee had agreed that no political policy would be determined in advance of the merged Congress. However, it was agreed that a Political Education Department would be established within the new Congress and that Harry Weisbach of the PAC-CCL would be the director of the new department. Later in August of 1956, the CLC set up a Political Education Committee with the CCFer Donovan Swailes as its chairman. The PED was to function as an agency to inform the rank and file members of the role of political action in trade affairs and to encourage participation, political awareness, and Canadian citizenship. The PEC was to encourage the establishment of political education programs in affiliated unions.

Subsequent steps leading to the formation of the New Democratic Party took place in early 1957 and at the July 1958 convention of the CLC. The former, a series of meetings between CLC and CCF leaders, focussed on the future relations between the labor movement and the CCF. The latter, saw a resolution calling for the formation of a " . . . broadly based political movement which embraces the CCF, the labor movement, farm organizations, professional people, and other liberally minded people."<sup>97</sup> The same convention also elected Stanley Knowles, a CCF politician not a labor leader, to the position of Executive Vice President of the CLC.

The CLC resolution read as follows:

Whereas the events of the last two years have shown the correctness of the Winnipeg resolution of this Congress and continuing need for a broadly based political instrument of the Canadian people; and

Whereas the response inside the labor movement and from the public generally has shown the great possibility for effective political action which lies ahead;

Therefore be it resolved that this convention:

- (1) accepts and approves the report of the Executive Council, including the general principles set out in the study papers referred to therein and hereby endorses the steps taken by the council to carry out the instructions and mandate of the last convention;
- (2) instructs the Executive Council to continue its participation in the work of the national committee for the new party and the Executive Council is hereby authorized to assist by all appropriate means in the preparations for and in the calling of a founding convention at a time and place on a basis to be decided by the national committee;
- (3) urges the Executive Council, affiliates of the Congress, provincial federations and local labor councils to bring this resolution to the attention of all local unions and their members and to encourage their democratic participation in the formation of the political instrument envisaged herein, as well as in its work and activities after it is formed;
- (4) reaffirms its determination that the new political instrument shall be organized on such a basis that it will be fully representative of farmers, members of the CCF and other liberally minded groups and individuals as well as of labor, so that it may faithfully serve the best interest of all the people of Canada.<sup>98</sup>

Following the 1958 CLC convention, the CLC and the CCF executives set up a Joint Political Committee for the purposes of implementing the new party resolution. Stan Knowles was its chairman. In April and August 1960, the CLC and CCF executives reported to their respective national conventions. Both conventions, by nearly unanimous votes, adopted resolutions finally committing the CLC and the CCF to the

establishment of the new party.

To the "jubilant" and "emotionally supercharged" trade unionist at the CCL's second convention in 1958 the establishment of the NDP marked a new era in labor's political action program. The CCFers were less enthusiastic. To some, like Douglas Fisher it was all a bad mistake. His comments, while lengthy, are most pertinent:

To me, the new political party and because of labor backing will liven political interest for one, perhaps two federal elections. It is unlikely to have much short run success. It will fade from the scene in a decade or so, unless the present trends of the labor movement alter drastically or there comes an internal collapse of the Canadian economy.

. . . I believe the prospects are poor. Let me put bluntly some reasons.

First, labor unions are unpopular with the majority of Canadians and seem incapable of improving this opinion.

Second, most Canadians are not political animals and they tend to caution and conservatism. Radicalism and radical political parties make them uncomfortable.

Third, the Canadian labor movement is disconnected by space; its unity is weak; it has much factional and jurisdictional rivalry; it has few outstanding leaders - men of warm personality, good education, and general public renown.

Fourth, few unionists or union locals have experience in partisan politics and those who have, mostly labored in a losing cause. In most unions, any setup for political education is either forbidden, nonexistent, rudimentary or starved for leadership and finances.

Fifth, the union movement does not exhibit strong growth characteristics. Its organizing impetus has run down.

Sixth, mainly the mass of organized labor is, of course, centered in large urban areas. These are traditionally under-represented in Parliament, these are the rural areas. Further, such metropolitan living atomizes group associations like unions. The solidarity of the plant force on shift fragments into scattered homes and family, social and

neighbourhood activity that is neither union or party oriented and concentrated.

Seventh, there is little class consciousness in Canada, even among trade union members. Thus we have little of the imperative or driving bitterness which gave the British Labor Party its dynamic for so long. The wing of class rivalry in Britain is one reason for that parties inordinate time in the wilderness of opposition.

Eighth, there are no well edited, colourfully written or presented 'mediate means' within labor's control or on its side, or potentially on the new party side.

Ninth, organized labor in Canada seems to have few academics or intellectuals in its ranks, and very little, almost no support, in the training grounds or havens of such people - the universities or colleges.

Tenth, the new political venture has aroused no stirring response from French Canadian unionism; and it has hardly jarred the traditional political loyalties of the Maritimes.

Eleventh, the American links of most Canadian unions are not only a political embarrassment, they prevent any ceasing of the strongest force in this decade; a burgeoning Canadianism whose reverse coin is anti-Americanism.

Twelfth, women are an increasing part of the Canadian labor force and the potential vote. I do not see organized labor and party politics as a magnet to them, rather the reverse.

Further, their following rarely extends beyond their own locals. The toughness and similarity of purpose which makes a good union leader and a good local, produce an image and a personality which lacks the warmth, flexibility, and repore needed to get elected or to mount a winning campaign.

In the past ten years we have seen the union movement change from an offensive to a defensive position. It has achieved a superficial unity in the Canadian Labor Congress that is more apparent than real. It really does not march in step. Its leadership of the national scene seems incapable of more than the cliches of the 1930s.

I have analyzed why there was this response from these few (unions), and in each case there was a small core of bright, zealous CCFers who acquainted union duties with political responsibility. They made political education within unions

appear possible. But they were such a minority . . . if there were more of them . . . if most of the locals caught the message . . . if, if, if! No. I cannot believe it. My criticisms or doubts of Canadian labor in politics stand.<sup>99</sup>

Of the total of 530 union delegates at the founding convention of the New Democratic Party, 427 were from former CCL unions (over 300 of these from steel, auto, packinghouse, and woodworkers), and 93 from former TLC unions. The breakdown of the CLC delegation to the founding convention reflects fairly accurately the relative strength of the NDP in the several wings of the Canadian labor movement: very strong in the big four - steel, auto, packinghouse, and woodworkers; strong in other former CCL unions and a few former TLC unions; weak or nonexistent in most non CCL unions. Table XVII below gives the breakdown of the trade union delegation.<sup>100</sup>

In terms of the future relations between the NDP and the Canadian trade union movement, Gad Horowitz has set forth a number of propositions as a result of his study all of which are directly pertinent here. First, the relationship between unions supporting the NDP will probably continue to be quite similar to that which existed between the CCL unions and the CCF. As Horowitz stated it " . . . many of the problems involved in that relationship will continue to exist. The 'egghead constituency activist' and the 'practical unionist' will find it difficult to work together." Second, the close articulation of union and party organizations will give rise to certain difficult situations. "Since labor is present in greater numbers in the new party structure, the problem is likely to be somewhat more serious than it was in the CCF . . . ." Third, union party

TABLE XVII

TRADE UNION REPRESENTATION AT FOUNDING CONVENTION OF  
NEW DEMOCRATIC PARTY

CCL unions	delegates			delegates	
	locals		TLC and other unions	locals	
1. UAW	60	57	1. Bakery Workers	4	3
2. Brewery Workers	6	6	2. Barbers	3	3
3. ACWA	14	14	3. Bookbinders	1	1
4. Communications			4. Bricklayers	1	1
Workers	1	1	5. Carpenters	8	2
5. IUE	6	3	6. Cement Workers	1	1
6. Glass & Ceramic	7	7	7. Chemical Workers	5	5
7. OCAW	18	17	8. ILGWU	15	8
8. UPWA	69	67	9. Grain Millers	2	2
9. Retail-Wholesale	17	14	10. Laborers	3	1
10. Steelworkers	165	147	11. Hotel &		
11. Textile Workers	24	24	Restaurant Workers	1	1
12. IWA	30	15	12. Locomotive Firemen	1	1
13. CBRT	8	8	13. IAM	18	16
14. NUPSE	1	1	14. Meat Cutters	2	2
15. BC Shipyards	1	1	15. Sheet Metal Workers	2	1
	—		16. Molders	2	1
	427		17. Office Employees	2	2
			18. Pattern Makers	1	1
			19. Plumbers	5	3
			20. Pulp & Sulphite		
			Workers	5	5
			21. Street Railway		
			Employees	4	2
			22. Teamsters	1	1
			23. Tobacco Workers	4	4
			24. ITU	1	3
			25. Upholsterers	1	1
				—	
				93	
CCL	427				
TLC and others	93				
Directly chartered	10				
	—				
Total delegates	530				

relations will differ from those of the past in that more locals will be affiliated to the NDP than there were to the CCF. It will also provide a degree of financial stability to NDP operations. Of Canada's thirty-five trade unions with a membership of 10,000 or more, seven have affiliated more than one-third of their membership to the NDP.<sup>101</sup> The unions affiliated to the NDP as of August 1967 are given below in Table XVIII.<sup>102</sup>

The history of labor's adventures in the Canadian political system have been stormy and hectic. One wonders, how much of this effort will lead to the fulfillment of the objectives of organized labor. How much of this history represents the efforts of Canadian trade unionists as opposed to a certain elite trade unionist group attempting to force the movement into an activity which may be quite incompatible with trade unionism. How much of this is a history of trade union political action and how much of it is a history of political action in spite of trade unionism. Despite the years of effort, the money spent, the resolutions past, the interunion conflict, and the speeches made, is the labor movement any further towards its undisputed objective of securing the passage of legislation "favourable to labor?" Writing in 1957, Peter Churchill wrote in the Guardian:

When laboring people in Canada are faced with the prospect of political action they greet it with mixed feelings. It always seems that the greater percentage just couldn't care less, but even for those who do care, and care passionately, there are still many reservations, inhibitions, and other restrictions which prevent a more united approach to the problem.<sup>103</sup>

TABLE XVIII

LOCALS AFFILIATED TO THE NDP AS OF AUGUST 31, 1966

Union	No. of locals affiliated August 1966	Total no. of locals, 1965	No. of members affiliated August 1966	Total membership 1965
Former CCL Unions				
UAW	33	69	69,184	77,515
Brewery Workers	8	58	1,817	7,000
CBRT & GW	26	207	5,733	32,148
ACWA	11	41	2,947	16,500
Communication Workers	1	10	478	3,168
IUE	6	59	1,136	10,000
Glass and Ceramic Workers	6	30	1,919	5,860
OCAW	6	65	761	12,964
UPWA	135	179	18,254	25,000
RWDSU	18	54	9,431	17,000
URWA	20	59	7,867	13,950
USWA	247	496	73,281	110,000
TWUA	59	85	8,671	19,000
IWA	11	54	16,309	43,553
UMW-26(ind.)	4	25	3,198	7,979
	591		220,986	
Former TLC and other unions				
Bakery & Confectionery	2	26	1,085	8,370
Bookbinders	1	18	600	3,309
Brick and Clay	1	3	182	298
Bricklayers	1	52	750	5,712
Bro. Railway Carmen	3	94	375	17,429
Carpenters	1	230	71	63,960
Cement, Lime & Gypsum	1	34	133	4,522
Chemical Workers	5	94	949	15,100
Fire Fighters	2	132	62	12,680
Grain Millers	1	8	700	1,032
Laborers & Hod Carriers	1	39	50	24,297
Locomotive Firemen & Enginemen	3	96	159	6,918
IAM	11	155	2,674	41,243
Meat Cutters	2	34	857	9,471
Moulders	2	35	942	6,837
OPEIU	3	53	388	6,956
Painters & Decorators	1	61	250	7,944
Plumbers & Pipe Fitters	2	73	4,000	19,603
Pulp & Sulphite	1	116	650	36,942

TABLE XVIII concluded

Union	No. of locals affiliated August 1966	Total no. of locals, 1965	No. of members affiliated August 1966	Total membership 1965
IATSE	1	54	27	2,838
Amalgamated Transit	1	32	170	12,010
ITU	1	59	50	7,307
Upholsterers	2	12	813	4,156
Teamsters (ind)	1	41	498	42,382
	<u>50</u>	<u>—</u>	<u>16,435</u>	<u>—</u>
CUPE (merger of NUPSE- CCL and NUPE-TLC)	22	522	3,170	84,847
Directly chartered locals	15	162	1,386	19,100
	<u>678</u>		<u>241,977</u>	

Source: CLC-PEC files, and Department of Labor, Canada, Labour Organizations in Canada (Ottawa, 1965).

Clearly, the objective of political action has always been ". . . the passages of laws favourable to labor" but to do this the method is not to assume power within a political party but to assume the power of government. As Henry Weisbach put it back in 1952 ". . . endorsing the CCF at conventions is not going to be sufficient . . . we have to endeavour to elect representatives of that party to Queens Park and Ottawa to carry the fight."<sup>104</sup> The Canadian trade union movement/NDP alliance has yet to assume the power of government. In the meantime, labor is still left with the task of dealing with the government of the day in its never-ending efforts to obtain laws ". . . favourable to labor."

As far as the future of trade union/NDP chances are concerned, Hortowitz concluded his study on a most pessimistic note:

It would be unfair, however, to blame labor leaders for the NDP's failure to become a major party. The reasons for that failure are to be found elsewhere - in the past, especially in the 1940s. Even if the Canadian labor elite were most unanimously and enthusiastically supporting the NDP, it would not be doing very much better, in terms of votes, than it is without such support. Voting habits are not easily changed. The NDP seems to have the allegiance of something like 15% of the electorate; the remaining 85% or so seem to be rather solidly attached to the other parties. The failure of the new party experiment indicates that nothing the socialist party itself does can greatly increase its strength. Unless there is a startling new development, some sort of crisis, outside the socialist party - a crisis severe enough to shake up Canadian voting habits, a crisis like the first world war which provided the progressive party with its takeoff, or the second world war which provided the CCF with its takeoff - the NDP will probably not achieve major party status. Rather, it will consolidate and probably moderately strengthen its present position as a significant minor party. If an external crisis does come, and if the NDP is capable of appealing to the new mood which will be generated by the crisis, the events of the forties may be repeated; the party will score a few startling successes, success will breed further success, apathetic labor

leaders will smell victory, craft union affiliation will quadruple, Frank Hall will make speeches, money and men will pour into the party, the voters will lose their fear of 'wasting' their votes - and then, perhaps, an NDP official opposition.<sup>105</sup>

### Internal Trade Union Affairs

Philosophical issues relating to the category of internal trade union affairs rank second only to issues within the labor-management relationship in terms of efforts devoted to it by the international and national unions studied. However, in terms of the conflict generated through differences in philosophy it ranked number one. Throughout the years under study, issues within this category of internal trade union affairs were very controversial indeed. They continue to be so.

The category of internal trade union affairs includes all issues which relate to the structure, government, and function of labor bodies and the relationship among these bodies. Some of the issues within this category have been present in the Canadian trade union movement since its very early years. Others developed in its later years. Two of the six specific issues to be examined in subsequent pages have been active since the time of the Berlin Declaration of 1903. As the result of this declaration not only did the movement's split structurally but also philosophically. The split was a direct result of sharp differences over matters relating to internal trade union affairs. In one corner stood the TLC and its commitment to the international trade union structure and the craft form of organization. Its opposition centered in the ACCL and its equally strong commitment to the national (Canadian) union structure and the industrial form of organization. These two issues - the

structure of the trade union movement and the form of organization - polarized trade union philosophy until the merger of the two schools of thought in 1956. Despite the merger, differences still exist, particularly over the question of the international trade union structure.

The other issues include intra-union relationships (relations between superior and inferior organs within a trade union), relationship between an international or national trade union (or an organ within it) and the national center, inter-union relations, that is relations among international and national trade unions, and lastly, the "new relationship" which appears to be emerging since the merger in 1956.

International Union Relationship. Canada is the only country of the world to have the vast majority of its trade unionist members of local organizations which are headquartered in a foreign country. This unique aspect of its structure has also produced unique issues within Canadian trade union philosophy.

The issue was not so much that international unions were undesirable per se but that fears were expressed over the integrity and autonomy of Canadian trade unionists within such a structure. The central focus of concern was national (Canadian) trade union autonomy. These concerns were not without justification as the events surrounding the TLC's Berlin Declaration clearly demonstrated.

To the CBRT, a staunch supporter of the ACCL (indeed it was the ACCL) and the spokesman for an "All-Canadian trade union structure," a union centered in a foreign country threatened the integrity of the Canadian unionists. In 1935, its editorial columns noted: " . . . no

Canadian workers can have any pride in belonging to unions of which the constitution, the policies and the affairs are determined by United States railwaymen . . . it is not merely because it is a Canadian union . . . that the Brotherhood claims the loyalty and the allegiance of its members, but because, being Canadian, it enables the members to determine their own affairs, make their own constitution, and elect their own officers."<sup>106</sup> Further, it was a condition which worked to the ". . . detriment of the development of a national culture and consciousness . . . " and was ". . . injurious to any spirit of Canadianism." To the nationally inclined trade unionists, the continuing trend to international unionism had resulted in divided loyalties, and left the determination of wages and hours to the determination by ". . . foreign labor officials" and the basis of their working class organizations were ". . . laid down for them."<sup>107</sup>

As noted earlier, international trade unionism per se was not the object of "nationalists'" criticisms. On the contrary, its supporters, such as the CBRT, strongly favoured internationalism but not the type so dearly embraced by the TLC. The CBRT journal, the Canadian Railway Employees Monthly expressed support for its concept of internationalism this way:

True internationalism is based on the free co-operation of independent and autonomist national bodies, with complete jurisdiction in their own sphere, but which join in the discussion of international labor questions and the determination of suitable policies for the promotion of the general welfare of the workers.

No greater contrast could be found then exist between this type of internationalism and the spurious 'internationalism' peddled and propagated throughout Canada by United States unions which have gained a foothold in certain industries in this country. A branch of a United States union is no more independent than a branch of a United States manufacturing firm . . . it is impossible to have a vital labor movement if it must look to another country for direction in policy and practice.<sup>108</sup>

At the same time, the national labor autonomists saw no reason why there should not be co-operation between the autonomist Canadian unions and American unions in a wide variety of matters (such as collective bargaining) because of the linkage between the economies of the two countries. But, they emphasized, the Canadian trade union movement would undertake co-operation as an "equal partner" and not as a "subordinate body." To the nationalist, the internationals (because of AFL philosophy) were politically and economically weak. Above all it lacked a constructive and progressive economic philosophy. It was reluctant to criticize or analyze the capitalist system and was content to simply demand "a fair day's pay for a fair day's work". To the nationalists, the program of international trade unionism and its role in society were far too limited. The All Canadian Congress of Labor believed that the workers should be encouraged to study economic and political theories; that they should examine the bases of the present economic system and the causes of its failure to function in an adequate and equitable manner. It believed that they should strive to bring about the adoption of a co-operative system, with economic planning, and the public ownership and operation of the machinery of production in order that goods and services would be available to all people and that the highest possible

standards of living would be attained.<sup>109</sup>

The TLC for its part, categorically rejected the nationalists' charges of "domination" and "interference." In reply, they simply cited the traditional "North American Trade Union Thesis":

It is because the international trade union movement does think of people that its members make common cause with workers in the United States for betterment of their working conditions, acting through their own national organization - the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada - on other matters which affect the social and cultural development of this Dominion. In this they are no different to their employers who, through interlocking directorates and financial interests, are in most cases closely aligned with industries in the United States. The common understanding between the masses of workers on each side of the border fostered by international trade unionism has in the past, and continues to be, a vital factor in the preservation of international harmony and peace between the peoples of these two great countries.<sup>110</sup>

The arguments advanced by the Canadian national unionists were extremely well developed and frequently and clearly articulated through to the year 1940 in the pages of its chief spokesman the Canadian Railway Employees Monthly. The emergence of the CCL and industrial unionism placed the "nationalist" in a bit of a difficult position for along with national trade unionism they equally embraced the concept of industrial trade unionism. Shortly after the formation of the CCL the intensity of differences over the "autonomy" issue gradually withered away. However, it was to reappear at a later date. The formation of the CCL and even the merger of 1956 did not completely resolve this issue.

During the mid-fifties, the issue of Canadian autonomy was skillfully manipulated to their own interests by the communist controlled UE and MM both of which were having problems with their CCL membership

and at a time when other noncommunist unions were experiencing demands for greater Canadian autonomy.

With respect to the latter, according to one report the Bakery and Confectionary Union dealt with a Canadian local sponsored resolution which asked that only Canadians be eligible for the office of Canadian vice president. They also asked that a Canadian convention be held prior to the international gathering. The AFL-CIO Bookbinders urged that the Canadian vice president be elected rather than appointed and Canadian delegates to the IAM pressed for only Canadians being allowed to vote for their Canadian vice president. The Steelworkers experienced one of their "hottest sessions" when president MacDonald sought to do away with the position of Canadian Director. The Packinghouse Workers followed the policy that the Canadian director must be a Canadian and a member of a Canadian local.<sup>111</sup>

In December of 1954, the UE's nineteenth annual convention adopted constitutional changes which it claimed gave " . . . Canadian UE members the greatest amount of autonomy enjoyed by any international union." It was hailed by the UE as " . . . a forward step in the path towards a truly Canadian labor center." The resolution pointed out that sovereignty and independence of a country requires that " . . . all decisions affecting the country and its people be made free of dictation or interference in any form from any other country." And " . . . Canadian trade unions must fashion their policies in accordance with Canadian conditions and that this requires an independent trade union movement." Mine Mill had taken similar steps a few years earlier.<sup>112</sup>

During this period the international supporters did not remain silent. They took great delight and comfort in the conclusions reached in the Gordon Commissions' review of the international trade union scene. This commission had concluded that " . . . the Canadian membership of international unions exercise a wide and substantial measure of autonomy . . ." and " . . . there is little evidence to suggest that the expansion of Canadian industry has been impeded by international union extraction of excessive returns to labor . . . . "113

William Dodge, Executive Vice President of the CLC speaking before the 1959 convention of the ICW, referred to " . . . the attempt being made by management and government in Canada to discredit the international union movement as such - that is, to try to build a nationalistic sentiment among trade unionists in Canada which will lead to cutting themselves adrift from the international union movement of this continent."114 At the 1961 convention of the United Brewery workers he suggested that, like all U.S. - Canadian relations, the international relationship is founded on " . . . mutual respect and understanding." However, he counselled " . . . lately Canadian national aspirations have been taking form. The international unions must understand this development and accommodate themselves to it."115

Claude Jodoin spoke on the subject in late 1959 stressing the autonomist character of the CLC, that the AFL-CIO has absolutely no influence on it, and cited as evidence a number of areas where AFL-CIO and CLC policy and practice differ.

In the early nineteen sixties, the CMU/SIU dispute broke out into the open and this issue provided a test for the " . . . mutual respect and understanding" referred to by William Dodge earlier. Before it was over, AFL-CIO/CLC relations were strained to say the least. The CBRT was particularly incensed over AFL-CIO "interference" in this and related jurisdictional matters. In May of 1963 its editorial columns opened up on the issue:

The arrogant attitude of the AFL-CIO and its associated departments, in intrusions into strictly Canadian affairs has revived the detested acrimony. There have been three known interferences in recent months as evidence of the complete disrespect and disregard by the U.S. labor officials for rulings of the Canadian Labor Congress . . .

The arrogance of the Maritime Trades Department of the AFL-CIO, which incidently is controlled by the Seafarers' International Union, has defied all law and order in resuming its harassing of Canadian shipping . . .

The Ontario Labor Relations Board recently ruled that the United Automobile Workers was the bargaining agent for workers employed by the Dehavilland Aircraft of Canada Limited . . . . The machinists took the case to the AFL-CIO - not the CLC - and an arbitrator ruled in favour of the machinists. The UAW refused to participate in the hearings on the grounds that the question should be settled in Canada.

Another glaring example of U.S. interference in Canadian labor was when the AFL-CIO overruled a CLC decision in favour of the United Paper Makers, giving rights to the Pulp, Sulfite and Paper Mill Workers . . . . "116

A few months later, under the heading "enough is enough" they spoke out against American unionists who " . . . start ordering Canadian labor around and throw insulting remarks across the border at our democratic unions and their leaders" and who " . . . come over the forty-ninth parallel and try to pressure our Canadian Government . . . ."117

The announcement in December 1963 of the conditional move by the AFL-CIO to give the CLC authority to settle jurisdictional disputes was hailed as a " . . . major triumph for Canadian labor . . . " and " . . . a first step towards the attainment of true autonomy." The following were the CBRT reactions:

The delegates to the AFL-CIO convention did not agree to give blanket recognition to the CLCs' primacy in Canada. What they did was to give their executive council the power to waive its authority over inter-union rangles in Canada, provided that the CLC first changed its jurisdictional machinery to conform to that of the AFL-CIO.

Nobody is objecting to this proviso, as such, since the AFL-CIO system is acknowledged to be superior to the CLC's and will be a welcomed improvement here. The objection is to the conditional nature of the AFL-CIO concession. It is not based on a firm constitutional amendment; it is not a binding written guarantee. It is rather a permissive and purely selective measure. The AFL-CIO executive council can waive its authority in Canada in favour of the CLC, but it is not compelled to. It can still refuse to recognize the CLC's supremacy in any specific case that may come up.

Nothing less than the unconditional recognition by the AFL-CIO of the CLC's sovereignty in Canada will be acceptable as a future working relationship.

Speaking of the Canadian delegates to the AFL-CIO convention, we share the dismay at their performance expressed by the Toronto Star. This was a chance to assert forcefully the principle of Canadian labor autonomy, and what did they do - these heads of powerful, supposedly autonomist Canadian sections of international unions? They just sat on the main floor of the convention and kept quiet . . . they tamely went along with the move to keep (the Great Lakes conflict) off the floor and instead refer it to the AFL-CIO executive committee.

We are sure we express the sentiment of the great majority of Canadian trade unionists when we say it is not enough. Complete autonomy is what we want. We will not settle for less.<sup>118</sup>

Speaking before the same AFL-CIO convention, CLC Vice President Joe Morris conveyed Canadian concern. He emphasized the growing concern for greater " . . . self-determination" in Canada and reminded the delegates of the words used by George Meany in his address before the founding convention of the CLC: "Let there be no misunderstanding as to the relationship between the AFL-CIO and the newly formed Canadian Labor Congress. This organization that you are forming is a free, independent trade union center for Canada, just as the AFL-CIO is a free, independent trade union center for the United States." He concluded, "we must retain the powers to make decisions . . . which effect us and the welfare and programs of those whom we represent."<sup>119</sup>

One of the best overviews of the more recent issues within the international union question was set out by D. N. Secord, Secretary-Treasurer of the CBRT. It is best in the sense that he recognizes that the connection has advantages as well as disadvantages and brings out aspects of the connection which many commentators do not. It was the most thorough, thoughtful, and honest analysis of the relationship available in the labor press examined. The following are his more relevant points:

1. Basically, the Canadian trade union movement consists of a weak center. All but a few of its affiliates are international unions, that is they have their head office in the United States.
2. One of the attacks made on international unions in Canada by management is that the collective bargaining policies are influenced or dictated from the United States. Actually, this is not so.

3. Union constitutions, which say what a union member will pay in dues; how dues revenues will be apportioned; the rights and privileges of members; the officers to be elected; their salaries, their tenure, are written essentially by Americans to meet American conditions. Some international unions - notably the Steelworkers, Packinghouse Workers, the International Woodworkers and a few others - exercise a good deal of local autonomy and have, in some cases, modified their union structure to meet Canadian conditions. By and large the tendencies present in the policies of American unions will be reflected in the Canadian branches of the organization.

4. Publications of international unions frequently do not allow more than a few inches of space to the whole of Canada - including union, labor and political items and very few international unions provide financial statements from which a Canadian member can read any conclusions whatever about the activities of his union in this country.

Without a union publication to which Canadian members have ready access, with financial reports detailing activities in Canada, and I would add without Canadian control over Canadian dues and Canadian officers, it is not easy for the democratic processes, as I understand them, to function in a labor union.

5. A labor union is not merely an economic organization. It is a political and social organization as well, and is one which can function properly only within a democratic, self-governing framework.

6. Our congress, in most essential respects, is a carbon copy of the AFL-CIO and, in fact, was only brought into being because the AFL and the CIO decided to merge. History has shown that a split in U.S. labor movement means a split here, and a merger there, means a merger here.

7. What we need to examine is whether the American labor movement, in all cases is suited to Canadian conditions. It seems obvious to me that unions below a certain size do not have the resources to function with maximum efficiency. They cannot, for instance, afford such specialized services as research, public relations, or education.

It can be argued, of course, that the parent unions of these smaller Canadian unions have research and other facilities in the U.S. which are available to Canadian members. It is a fact, however, that international unions with enough Canadian

members to warrant separate facilities quickly established them. I also believe that examination would show that the smaller unions make very little use of the facilities available across the border.

8. What I am suggesting to you is that Canada has many more unions than it ought to have, and I blame this phenomenon on the fact that we inherited a union structure designed for a much more populous country. I further suggest that Canada requires a much stronger center labor body than the AFL-CIO or the CLC.

9. I do not believe that most international unions give their Canadian members sufficient control over their own affairs, or make enough allowance for the fact that Canada is a separate country. This is particularly the case where the Canadian membership of the international is small - less than 20,000. It is the unions like the Steelworkers, the UAW, the Packinghouse Workers, the IWA, and a few others, who have modified their union structure to meet Canadian conditions.

10. Surely Canadian union members have a right to the final appeal within their own country. This brings up the whole question of international union constitutions. They are drawn up in conventions where, quite properly, the Americans vastly outnumber the Canadians. These conventions legislate, of course, for the whole union. Let us suppose, because there is no labor party in the U.S., that an international union convention decided to prohibit political action. Should not Canadian delegates have a right to national self-determination on a matter of this kind?

11. I am prepared to believe that international unionism is all that its ardent supporters say it is, and I would like to see it flourish and grow, but as a partnership - a partnership between equals with either side free to withdraw or modify the relationship as they see fit. Canadian and American members would be free, as they now are, to draw on one another for support and guidance, but Canadians would also be free to merge into larger groupings, if Canadian conditions demanded it, or to pull out if, like the Teamsters, the American section of the union was taken over by gangsters, or to build our labor center on different lines than the AFL-CIO.

12. There was never a time when so much flexibility was required in our labor movement and we have no more flexibility in this movement than the extinct and much lamented Dodo bird. If we can achieve this flexibility and retain the valuable ties

that we have with the American labor movement, by all means let us do so, but lets not make international unionism something sacred which can't be subjected to examination or criticism, no matter how friendly or well meant.<sup>120</sup>

Industrial Verses Craft Form of Organization. The balkinization of the trade union movement following the Berlin Declaration of 1903 was the result of sharp differences over not only the international connection but also the craft form of organization. The TLC at that time, possibly because of the AFL link but certainly because of the international connection of its affiliates, was deeply committed to the craft form of trade union structure. In subsequent years, both the TLC and AFL steadfastly refused to budge, and differences over the issue led to the 1936 rupture and the formation of the CIO in the States and the CCL here in Canada.

The form of organization issue while it may appear to be simple enough was in fact a complex issue and struck deep into the core of the meaning of trade unionism. It was the type of issue over which there was no compromise.

To craft unionists, trade unions functioned in order to obtain benefits for their members. Its chosen weapon was collective bargaining. Its power flowed from its control in the labor and product markets. Recognizing the type of economic system at the time in which this approach was established, the craft form of organization made a lot of sense. In order to be effective each trade union organization operated within a defined jurisdiction. It was the philosophy of class collaboration.

These jurisdictions were zealously guarded and the importance of them to this system of trade unionism was recognized by a host of AFL

resolutions dating back to 1899. In return for complete trade union autonomy and the right to govern its own affairs, the AFL was to ensure a trade union's exclusive control over its own jurisdiction. In order to implement this, it was resolved that each application for affiliation " . . . clearly state and define in its laws all the branches of trade over which it claims jurisdiction, and should laws cover branches or trades already chartered by the American Federation of Labor, then such charter shall be denied until passed upon by the American Federation in convention assembled when the claims of all parties shall receive a hearing."<sup>121</sup>

The method whereby the federation sought to implement the latter principle consisted of the issuing of a charter or "certificate of affiliation" to each union. In this the latter's jurisdiction was rather carefully spelled out, and reserved that charter to the union in question exclusively. Most frequently this consisted of merely accepting the organizations own definition of its area of operations. By either withholding or withdrawing charters from rebellious or rival groups, the federation sought to strengthen the control of the "legitimate" jurisdiction against either succession from within, independent local unionism, or aggression from outside rivals.<sup>122</sup>

The supporters of the industrial form of organization looked at trade unionism in quite different terms. First and foremost trade unionism was much more than simply a "bread and butter" economic organization serving its members. It was a social reform organization working towards the improvement of all people within the industrial

working class. It was a class conscious philosophy. To Canadian supporters, such as the CBRT, the craft form of organization was inadequate in the light of " . . . the monopoly phase of capitalism," and was a logical reaction to the business organization of a former time. However, " . . . the craft union has outlived the economic conditions in which it developed." The industrial unionist called for a new "social order" and to effect this change the old social institutions, such as the craft form of trade unionism organization, must go. Colin McKay writing in 1935 elaborated further:

The important thing is to recognize that this depression has completely demonstrated the futility of craft unionism. They have fumbled the opportunities offered them by the new deal. And largely because they had no ideology, no policy even approximating the social philosophy professed by Roosevelt. The craft unions accepted the bourgeois assumption that private property in the means of production was a natural and therefore eternal institution. They never questioned the permanence or the righteousness of the social relations necessary to make property a means of exploitation. The craft unionist thought of himself as a property owner - his property being his craft skill. He was the 'aristocrat of labor.' Hence his psychology was that of the small property owner; and snobishness being a characteristic of society divided into classes, he was loath to identify himself with the class to which he really belonged - the dependent worker class.<sup>123</sup>

The concepts underlying industrial trade unionism lifted the minds of workers to the contemplation of the development of a new society. A society lacking the disorders, injustices, and miseries of the existing society. This vision was not present in the form of simple craft trade unionism. To a craft unionist, his skill is a form of property and his highest purpose is to get the best market price for it. To him the collective bargain with the employer is the ultimate

goal. He regards the present social system as permanent. He sees no hope of workers as a class escaping from their economic dependence upon the owners for the means of production.<sup>124</sup>

Second, to industrial trade unionists, the concept of exclusive jurisdiction had held back labor's organizing efforts. Rather than an aggressive extension of trade union organization, the craft unionists expended their efforts holding on to and guarding their " . . . protected jurisdictions" many of which were only " . . . paper jurisdictions" as a result of rapid structural changes in industry. Consequently, as industrialism expanded labor represented fewer and fewer of the industrial workers in it.<sup>125</sup>

Third, the craft form of organization was not an adequate instrument for labor's political action. To the industrial unionist, the trade unions must be moulded into an effective political instrument. In this, and other aspects of industrial trade unionism, they looked at the system as operated within the British labor movement, particularly the New Unionism of the late 1880s. This aspect of their philosophy was always a little vague. However, it was clear that the "mission" of industrial trade unionists was to organize the workers so that when political power passed to the producing masses such powers could be used in conjunction with their economic power to set up a new society in which " . . . economic democracy would be realized." In addition, a labor-farmer party in control of government was not enough. Further, before embarking into the area of political action in government their organizations must first be strong economic organizations. In the new

society, the political parliament was to be replaced by an "industrial parliament." The present multitude of narrow private interests which governs the political system would soon disappear.<sup>126</sup>

Fourth, the craft form of organization prevented labor unity, that is labor speaking with one voice for all workers in a given industry. To have this under the craft system of trade unionism would have required inter-union co-operation. Craft unions don't co-operate - they are too "selfish" and purposefully " . . . foster and perpetuate" disunity.<sup>127</sup> To industrial trade unionists trade union unity was central to their philosophy. In addition, the craft structure produces individual unions which are weak in the face of the great " . . . financial oligarchies which control the great concentrations of modern industry." As a result of this weakness, employers were easily able to fend off craft trade union demands for improvements. As one writer put it " . . . obviously the power of a union embracing all workers in an industry would be greater than that of a union embracing only members of a craft division within an industry."

Fifth, the craft trade unionists are too conservative because of their desire to perpetuate themselves in office. They resist change and fear it lest it affect their position and consequently resort to appeals in the name of craft patriotism.<sup>128</sup>

With the announcement of the formation of the CIO in the United States, Canadian supporters of the industrial union form of organization rejoiced. They noted, " . . . long before industrial unionism had achieved

its present status, long before the huge unions in the steel, automobile, and other industries were formed, the Brotherhood adopted it. Traditions have their value, but the tradition of craft unionism should not be allowed to stand in the way of the workers welfare. Sooner or later industrial unionism must prevail."<sup>129</sup>

Intra-Union and Inter-Union Relationships. Intra-union relations refers to the relationship between superior and inferior bodies within a given trade union. It is one aspect of the system of government and control within a trade union. It is a topic which has received considerable attention by American trade union scholars (starting with Theodore W. Glocker's classic work The Government of American Trade Unions published in 1913) and the Canadian literature on the subject is considerable. The latter seems to be the result of the relation of this particular issue to the international connection.

Because of the existence of much American and Canadian material dealing with this aspect of trade union philosophy coupled with the predominance of international unions in Canada, this aspect of philosophy will not be discussed at great length. This should not be interpreted to minimize its importance. On the contrary, it is of crucial importance particularly to a valid interpretation of the impact of the international connection to the Canadian trade union movement. It is abbreviated only because it is an element of philosophy which has been clearly articulated elsewhere.

However, incidents occurred within the unions studied which are deserving of some attention and which reveal in a summary way the

philosophical outlook of Canadian trade unions on this particular issue. These incidents included, (a) differences between Mine-Mill Local 598 and its national (international) headquarters and, (b) the question of a proposed dues increase within the UAW.

Differences over the issue of intra-union relations normally manifests itself through a demand by some inferior trade union body for local autonomy. By this it means the freedom to run its own affairs without interference from some superior body. Normally, the powers of these respective bodies are set forth in the unions constitution. The question is one of the degree of commitment of all parts of the union structure to the unions constitution and system of government. The CBRT referred to it as "organizational loyalty". This means respect for the constitution, acceptance of the obligations of membership, and a positive attitude towards the organization and its leadership.<sup>130</sup>

The autonomy question has always been part of trade union philosophy ever since the first superior body was established. However, in recent years, the number of cases of dissension within trade union ranks suggests that it is an issue which is causing the movement considerable concern. In 1965 Steelworkers President David MacDonald came under heavy criticism from many of his locals and elected directors. He was subsequently defeated for reelection by Secretary-Treasurer I.W. Abel. A new independent union ousted two less militant AFL-CIO paper mill unions on the Pacific Coast and after having done so called its first strike in thirty years. The memberships of the International Longshoremen's Association and the American Federation of Teachers replaced their

presidents in 1965 elections. The presidents of the Textile Workers, Building Services Union, and Communications Workers of America have had to beat back unaccustomed challenges to win reelection. The presidents of the International Union of Electrical Workers and the United Mine Workers of America have been strongly challenged in recent elections. The president of the United Rubber Workers suffered a sharp rebuff from a membership who refused to support his efforts to raise dues.<sup>131</sup>

In 1955, Mine-Mill praised itself for embodying "full Canadian autonomy" into its recently amended constitution. It was referred to as a "historic event" and one which would lead to " . . . close co-operation on the basis of equality".<sup>132</sup> In 1959, the national executive board of Mine-Mill proposed further changes. This is when the trouble started. There were those who claimed that the new structure would be too expensive. These charges were denied by the executive board. They replied:

To summarize, a careful study of present administrative costs as compared to the costs under the proposed structural changes show that to institute the structural changes would not necessarily cost more; as a matter of fact there would be better servicing, better legislative activity, and more involvement by the local unions in the work of the union for the same cost now prevailing.<sup>133</sup>

There were those, such as the executive members of local 598, located in Sudbury, who saw it as a blatant attempt to extend communist control over Canadian locals. As they saw it (and quite correctly) the proposed structural changes would give local 598 the same representation as any other local in Canada " . . . although local 598 has well over one-half the membership of the entire Mine-Mill union . . .". This they charged was "undemocratic" and aimed at cutting down the rights of the

local within Mine-Mill. They referred to District President N. Thibault as the " . . . greatest danger local 598 has ever faced."<sup>134</sup>

From a review of the total record there is little doubt that Thibault and others having communist leanings were out to regain control of local 598 in the forthcoming local elections. One phase of the attack centered on the constitutional changes, the other, a systematic program designed to discredit the local 598 leadership. The primary instrument of the Thibault group was the nationally controlled Mine-Mill Herald. The spokesman for local 598 was its Local 598 News.

At the subsequent convention the constitutional changes were approved and referred to the membership for ratification. A local 598 resolution barring communists from office was defeated. The Sudbury delegates split 23 to 8 in favour of the resolution which is some measure of the communist strength in that local. A second resolution requiring officers to sign a noncommunist or nonfacist oath was also defeated. Supporters of the resolution saw this as first steps in the re-entering of Mine-Mill to the CLC and as measures to stop locals from switching allegiance to the Steelworkers.<sup>135</sup> The CCL had given Mine-Mill jurisdiction to the steelworkers in 1950. Their followed bitter conflict between supporters of Mine-Mill and the supporters of the Steelworkers.

In the local elections, local president Don Gillis and his executives were returned to office. The constitutional changes proposed by the national executive were approved by the membership. The Thibault attack shifted to the internal activities of 598. Thibault elements succeeded in disrupting local 598 meetings and harassing its leadership.

"Phoney" petitions urging the ouster of the executive of the local were circulated widely and a well rehearsed whisper campaign was started. At several meetings the disrupters " . . . arouse in a body behaving like maniacs, kicked over chairs, and left the meeting in an uproar".<sup>136</sup>

In late August of 1961, national supporters District President Mike Solski, National President Ken Smith, and District President Bill Kennedy seized local 598s' union hall and its newspaper while Gillis and his people were out of town.

In early September a full page add signed by 300 members of local 598<sup>137</sup> appeared in the Sudbury Star and charged that the executive officers of the local were " . . . deliberately planning and promoting succession" and, citing the constitution, called on the national executive to take complete charge of the affairs of local 598.<sup>138</sup> National President Smith proceeded to act and placed local 598 under trusteeship. In subsequent court actions the Ontario Supreme Court returned the local to its executive. The court ordered that:

1. National President Smith had erred in his action of placing the trusteeship in local 598.
2. The hall and assets are to be returned the duly elected executive.
3. The national union is to pay for the damage to the hall.
4. Smith and Kennedy are restrained from interfering with the officers of local 598 in re-establishing themselves in the local.<sup>139</sup>
5. All charges against the local officers are dismissed.

The executive of local 598 commented:

Solski and the national union were defeated following the disastrous 1958 strike. An aroused membership brought this about after being mislead and sold down the river.

Rumours, false accusations, disrupted meetings, slanderous attacks by leaflets and the Mine-Mill Herald became the order of the day.

The national officers stationed organizers in Sudbury to develop a serious of plots to oust your local executive. The latest attack, lead by the national president, was the seizure of your hall and assets.

This underhanded action brought the membership to a fever pitch and thousands gathered to voice support for their elected executive.

While the case was before the courts, Smith, with the voice of a circuit minister and the venom of a viper, announced his deal with the teamsters. No matter how much he attempted to cover this deal with sanctimonious phrases - A DEAL IS STILL A DEAL!

The national office is broke and confused. All they can offer the teamsters is 26,000 members, of which local 598 is the rich plum.

The Supreme Court decided the issue clearly. Smith had misused and abused the constitution in ousting your elected executive. The labor movement of Canada supported your local executive. More than seventy telegrams have been received from unions across Canada condemning Smith actions.

The court decision did not alter Smith's determination to capture local 598. He issued a statement to the Globe and Mail following the hearing in which he said: 'As national union president I will do everything legally in my power to thwart the efforts of any officer of local 598 from carrying out the plans to secede from the union.'

His statement was couched in the same sleezy language he used prior to his attacks upon our local. Although bruised by the Supreme Court Ruling, he will continue the attacks until the national union has local 598 back in its clutches.

In three years your local 598 executive has put the local on a solid financial footing, fought grievances, developed a sound welfare program and brought forward a bargaining

program second to none. All of this has been accomplished while under constant harassment by the national officers.

You, the membership, have a great decision to make. When are you going to make it?<sup>140</sup>

Despite this victory, the subsequent tide turned against local 598 executive. By July of 1962 the elected executive of local 598 had been ousted and replaced by a temporary executive pending elections scheduled for August. Subsequently, the pro-national slate headed by Tom Taylor was elected to office.<sup>141</sup>

As noted earlier, UAW Canadian director George Burt's position within the Canadian UAW was dependent upon communist support. Some such support came from local 195 at Windsor and its President Alex Parent. Back in 1944 his paper Local 198 News followed the communist line to the hilt. Before the locals 1944 convention he issued the usual call for unity and, in the light of the Tehran Conference, full effort behind war time production. He noted that " . . . to the very great delight of the Tories and liberals the labor movement is not united . . . due to a large extent to many leaders of the CCF who refuse to join in a common front with the LPP". He made reference to alleged meetings held by the rank and file outside the regular union meetings as "shameful" and " . . . a blot upon your local which will be hard to wipe out."<sup>142</sup>

The work of communist elements was not limited to any particular UAW local. It was rampant throughout the organization. The convention of 1947 was particularly explosive and following it a call went out for solidarity as the " . . . issues facing Canadians in the next two years are too important to be subordinated to factionalism and the continuance

of pre-convention rivalry."<sup>143</sup> It was also pointed out that " . . . our enemies will be on the alert to perpetuate any division which is not submerged by a strong desire to work harmoniously for the good of all."

In early 1950, George Burt tangled with Joe Salsburg of the communist influenced IAM which in earlier years had attempted to take over UAW jurisdictions. It lead to District Council 26 condemning " . . . the colonel agents of socialist Russia for their continued and habitual intereference in trade union affairs . . ." Burt replied " . . . I have taken an oath to follow out UAW policy . . . any organization whether it be the LPP . . . which opposes this democratic policy of our union, will be subject to the severe criticism and the resentment of our union."<sup>144</sup>

By 1955 the continued "disruption" by the communist elements and a proposed increase in dues precipitated a strong demand within the UAW for Canadian autonomy. Leaders of local 199 at McKinnon Industries argued that " . . . Canadian members need autonomy so that they would not be bound by American rules . . . " To the leadership of local 195 " . . . Canadian locals had had to subsidize the assistance from the international union . . ." during the Ford strike of that year. This was unfair in that " . . . U.S. members get outside aid from the city and state welfare agencies while Canadian counterparts do not give such aid to strikers." In reply, Burt cautioned, "I would hesitate to try to bargain with General Motors if we are going to have this ugly thing of Canadian autonomy to deal with in this international union. I would hesitate to take on GM with the strike funds we will have in the Canadian region." He added, " . . . if you expect to get Canadian autonomy and

U.S. strike funds as well you are chasing windmills." Burt accused those who raised the strike funds and Canadian autonomy issues of " . . . playing politics with trade union issues." Speaking before the District Council of Region 7 he put the UAW case this way:

You are not going to have a Canadian convention here deal differently with issues from what our convention does in the U.S. I am disturbed by the infection which is put into the membership by Canadian autonomy. I know the leaders of our international union are honest trade unionists. We have made more progress under that leadership than any other union. I am not going to be a party to splitting this union. The Canadian UAW owes much to the international dating right back to the early organizing days. If you say the UAW should pay Canadians more because in the U.S. they get outside help you should take into consideration that you are partly responsible for Canadians not getting it. Before you go to the convention and say I want to be an autonomist Canadian and pay \$2.50 and let the yankees pay \$7.50 you ought to look at your soul, because it is mighty small.<sup>145</sup>

The Canadian autonomy discussion continued for a number of years. In 1957 UAW President Reuther warned that Canadian autonomists were " . . . in bed with the Chamber of Commerce on this issue" and that " . . . Canadian workers know very well that the best way to make progress is by working together, supporting each other." He added that much had been made by Canadian autonomists of the dues of Canadian workers going " . . . south of the border", and pointed out that " . . . in the last dozen years the Canadian UAW membership has paid about 2 million in dues and received about 3 million in strike funds alone."<sup>146</sup>

Inter-Union relations refers to the relationship among trade unions. In this case relations between the national centers and the international/national trade unions and among the international and national trade unions.

The former focuses on the concept of affiliation by the international/national union with the national center, and the powers of the national center to regulate relations between its affiliates. It was a subject which was dealt with at considerable length in Part II. The latter, which will be discussed further here, centers on the jurisdiction of the international/national union and is an aspect of philosophy which is expressed during inter-union jurisdictional conflict or rivalry, usually taking the form of raiding. It is one aspect of trade union philosophy which is particularly unpleasant. At times this conflict has generated much physical and material violence at times to the point where individuals associated with it have been severely injured or have met their death. It is one aspect which has plagued the Canadian trade union movement for many years, attempts to resolve differences have met with little success, and at the present time, as noted earlier, it is one of the greatest challenges presently facing the CLC.

In most cases of raiding, the raiders justify their actions in the name of ridding workers of either the communist menace, corruption in trade union administration, or both. Frequently the raiders, cloaked in all that is pure and virtuous and acting in the name of God and country commit the same acts as those who stand accused in their eyes. In this area, trade union philosophy is startlingly cannibalistic in character and seems to be governed by the law of the jungle. Raiding is a particularly unprincipled activity, often justified on highly questionable grounds, and governed simply by the rule that the ends (purity) justify the means.

Although there were a number of incidents which could be cited and which reflect trade union philosophy on this issue, the so called "SIU Affair" was one of two selected for analysis. One of the unions studied, the CBRT, was directly involved in a sharp rivalry with the Seamen's International Union. The full story of the SIU Affair has yet to be written and there is certainly no attempt to do it here. It represents simply only one of several incidents which reveals Canadian trade union philosophy on the issue of inter-union affairs.

The roots of the SIU Affair go back more than not only a decade before it emerged as a public issue in 1962, but also are lodged in the character of employment in Great Lakes Shipping, the attitudes of shipping operators to trade unionism, and the motives behind their relationship with unions in the industry.<sup>147</sup>

The marine industry in the matter of employment and working conditions is subject to circumstances peculiar to itself. By tradition and by law the master of the vessel has the right of absolute control over the crew. To the individual employee the ship is his home and the locus of his social life for much of the time as well as his place of work. To a great extent he has little ability to deal with any situation, and is indeed subject.

The seamen on the Great Lakes emerged from the 1920's without trade union organization. Some attempts had been made to form a union at the close of the first world war and through one of these attempts an increase in wages was achieved and connections were established with the International Seamen's Union of North America (AFL). However, subsequently

the Canadian portion of the organization collapsed. Somewhat later, in 1923-1925, another organization operated under the title of the Great Lakes Seamen's Association. Its function, however, was really that of a private employment agency rather than a union attempting to improve conditions of life on the job. It was patterned after the Lake Carriers Association in the United States which for years had operated Hiring Halls and was an instrument in achieving good wages from employers interested in being free of unions.

With the depression, the Saskatchewan drought, and the lessened transportation on the Great Lakes there came a series of wage cuts and a worsening of working conditions. It was against this background of deteriorating wages and standards that the Canadians Seamen's Union emerged. For some time there had been in Montreal an organization known as the National Seamen's Association. During the summer of 1935 it issued a militant letter speaking out against the companies and threatened to take strike action unless the men received improvements in wages and working conditions. The seamen, taking the letter at face value, walked off the jobs at various ports notably at Cornwall, Toronto, and Fort William. The main outcome of the strike was the formation of the Marine Workers Union of the Great Lakes. However, it was little more than a name. This organization was led by Dewar Ferguson. At about the same time another organization was formed in Montreal under the name of the National Seamen's Union. Its secretary was Pat Sullivan and it was affiliated with the All-Canadian Congress of Labor. Subsequently, having nothing to lose and a world to gain these two organizations decided to join forces and to form

the Canadian Seamen's Union. The next necessary step was affiliation with the larger labor movement. On the advice of P.M. Draper of the Trades and Labor Congress, Sullivan was sent to New York to take out a charter with the International Seamen's Union of North America. However, in the light of the deteriorating condition of this organization the newly formed Canadian union took a charter directly from the Trades and Labor Congress itself. In 1939 it affiliated with the Seafarers International Union (AFL) but in 1946 it was denied continuance of that relation, the international charging it with having leaders with communist party connections and with failing to support the international in its conflict with the leftest National Maritime Union in the United States. The leaders of the CSU vigorously rejected the charges of communist control and cited its pure trade union record. The CSU never had in fact any close relation with an American organization. On the contrary, it looked for association with other Canadian organizations. In September of 1943 through to 1946 its President, Pat Sullivan, was the Secretary-Treasurer of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada.

In 1946, the CSU held under contract practically all ships on the Great Lakes and all ships on the Pacific Coast with the exception of the CPR passenger liners between Vancouver and Victoria and the Union Steamship Line running to Northern British Columbia. The only other sailors organization in Canada in 1948 was the Seafarers International Union with 1,500 members in two branches located at Vancouver and Victoria.

In 1946, the CSU struck the Great Lakes fleet with the principle issues being a substantial wage increase and the eight hour day. The

strike was marked by considerable violence largely as a result of employer attempts to operate with nonunion men. Attempts by the Federal Government to resolve the dispute were rejected by the companies who declared no intention of entering negotiations with " . . . the individuals who are the present officers of the Seamen's Union." To this the Globe and Mail commented: "Our labor legislation . . . provides that there should be certified bargaining agents for employees involved in a dispute. Each group is free to decide who his spokesman shall be in the negotiations. The operators say that they will negotiate only with responsible representatives of their employees. This could mean the impossible situation of employers assuming the right to name the representatives of the employees . . ."<sup>148</sup> The government agreed and finding no justification for the operators stand placed the companies under a controller. The dispute was subsequently settled in terms quite favorable to the CSU.

The unions struck again in 1948 and with this strike the image of what was to become the SIU Affair began to emerge. The 1948 strike, probably because of the nature of the employers counter tactics (employment of strike breakers and refusal to deal with the CSU leadership) not only brought forth considerable comment in the labor press but consolidated support of the movement, both TLC and CCL, behind the CSU cause. In August of 1948 a "trip to Ottawa" was organized to demand that the Cabinet " . . . force the shipping companies to obey the laws of Canada." This move was the result of a call issued by Percy Bengough of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada. In addition, rallies in support were held at a number of centers in Canada.<sup>149</sup>

At about the same time two other events which had transpired in the previous three years converged to set the scene for the emergence of the Seamen's International Union on the Great Lakes. First, the Canadians Seamen's Union switched its affiliation from the TLC to the CCL. Second, in 1947 J.A.(Pat) Sullivan, former head of the CSU established the Lake Seamen's Union and this body subsequently merged with the Seamen's International Union. The latter was a TLC affiliate. To the UE, the SIU was " . . . fully supporting company unionism" and called for full support for the Canadians Seamen's Union as the " . . . legal choice of the seamen themselves and that the rival organization is the choice of the shipping interests." To the UE, the SIU was " . . . spearheading a plot on the part of the employers to weaken and dismember the entire trade union movement."<sup>150</sup>

In the spring of 1949 conflict between the SIU and the CSU broke out into the open at Halifax when seven CSU members were shot. CSU supporters demanded that the Cabinet take action. At the same time it would appear that the CNR signed an agreement with the SIU while negotiations with the CSU were in progress. The UE charged that the agreement was "illegal" and that it had been signed with the " . . . scab herding Seafarers International Union which had no members on any of the ships but undertook to bring strikebreakers in from Montreal and the United States." As for the Halifax shootings, this was the result of SIU " . . . goons armed with shotguns, clubs, and hoses and given a free hand to attack the CSU members." They also charged that the CNR police, RCMP, and other government agencies were involved in aiding the gangsters.<sup>151</sup>

The UAW's local 195 expressed its support for the CSU this way:

The Federal Government has little to be proud of in their attitude towards striking members of the CSU during their long struggle for simple, ordinary justice. Steamship companies have broken and ignored contracts, have signed contracts with the rival International Seafarers Union when only two or three, and sometimes none, of these unionists have been aboard their vessels. Certification means nothing, contracts mean nothing when the government takes laissezfaire attitude towards the companies antiunion activities.

The cry that the CSU is commi dominated is not sufficient reason, in law, to avoid a contract. If the government hasn't sufficient backbone to deal with the communists as they deserve, as agents for an alien power, then they cannot expect the unions to do the job which is clearly a governmental function.<sup>152</sup>

During the subsequent decade the position of the SIU on the Great Lakes was improved and strengthened to the point where it possessed practically total control. Along with this its relations with one of its fellow unions gradually deteriorated. The issue was alleged raids by the SIU against the CBRT, National Association of Marine Engineers, the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, and the International Woodworkers of America and a fight between the SIU and the CBRT for jurisdiction over men employed on the St. Lawrence Seaway.

In March 1959, the CBRT demanded its rivals " . . . either abide by the letter in spirit of the CLC constitution or be expelled by the parent body." It also advised the CLC that " . . . it must put a stop to gangster tactics in its ranks and assume a positive policy that secondary boycotts will not be tolerated unless firms are involved in attempts to break legitimate strikes."<sup>153</sup>

In May 1959 the SIU was expelled from the CLC and at the same time,

in another raid, the Teamsters were given thirty days to "clear out" of the BRC held CPR merchandising services department in Vancouver. In its farewell editorial, the CBRT commented: "The SIU thus ended its ten year association with the legitimate trade union movement in Canada; ten years during which they replaced communism with corruption, and brought disrepute to the very idea of unionism."<sup>154</sup>

Having expelled the SIU, the CLC set up its own creation in the form of the Canadian Maritime Union. Rivalry between the SIU and the CMU was deepseated, bitter, and violent.<sup>155</sup> The SIU for its part used the Maritime Trades Department of the AFL-CIO to launch a noisy attack on the CLC particularly Bill Dodge its Executive Vice President and former CBRT leader. At its meeting in Montreal in October 1962 it passed a resolution branding Dodge as a "scab and a strikebreaker." This resolution had been sponsored by Paul Hall the head of the Seamen's International Union. With utmost indignation and resentment the CBRT registered a vigorous protest. In its editorials it condemned the AFL-CIO Maritime Trades Department for (a) interference in a private affair of another nation (the Norris enquiry was on at this time), (b) a degrading insult to the Vice President of the CLC, and (c) a positive contempt of Canadian law.<sup>156</sup>

The second incident which reflects the character of trade union philosophy in the area of inter-union relations was the jurisdictional dispute between the USW, MM, and UE. More correctly stated, the USW raids on MM and UE jurisdictions.

Differences between the USW and MM date from early 1949 when the executive council of the CLC, following a similar move by the CIO in the

United States, suspended and later the CCL convention expelled Mine-Mill from its ranks. In February of 1950, this same body turned over the former MM jurisdiction to the USW. According to a Steelworkers report, Mine-Mill had let the agreements covering miners in the Timmins area to lapse. The miners in turn appealed to the Congress for assistance in reorganizing. The Congress acted during 1949 in this and other areas and a number of directly chartered CCL locals were granted bargaining rights. Later, it was decided to turn these locals over to the USW. In explaining the action, the CCL president A.R. Mosher explained:

It is the feeling of a large majority of our executive that the United Steelworkers is the proper group to have this jurisdiction. At the time of the expulsion of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, it was decided that the jurisdiction should be held by the Congress itself pending a final decision. The time for that decision has now been reached. The change in jurisdiction is subject to confirmation of the memberships of the locals affected.

The Canadian Congress of Labor is confident that the United Steelworkers, as one of Canada's foremost unions, will provide strong and efficient service to the men in the mines, smelters and plants which were at one time under the jurisdiction of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers.<sup>157</sup>

The justification for this action both in Canada and the United States was that the Mine-Mill membership were "fed up with the communist leadership which had led the union into . . . a front for dozen of communists ventures" and it was pointed out that the " . . . ground swell of resentment against the leadership had been building up for years" and " . . . the tactics of the union in sabotaging CIO policy . . . brought the issue to a head" at the CIO convention held in the fall of 1949.

It was explained that in order to "save" the unions the CIO had to intervene and the local level " . . . in order to forestall the wholesale collapse of the locals and the Steelworkers were 'asked' to issue appropriate charters and service the local unions."<sup>158</sup>

For Mine-Mill's part it bitterly fought Steel's planned invasion. In June of 1959, the time of the difficulties between Local 598 and its headquarters noted earlier, it charged that Steel was deliberately plotting the takeover of Local 598 by having it first directly affiliate with the CLC and then later to turn it over to the Steelworkers. According to the Mine-Mill Herald:

There is no doubt that Steel is behind a rash of unsigned smear leaflets in the Sudbury area which are urging the Sudbury workers to step into this trap by breaking away from Mine-Mill and affiliating to the Congress directly . . . .

The Canadian Labor Congress has recognized Steel as the union with the jurisdiction in the metal mining industry. The Congress officers have already advised Mine-Mill national officers of this, but do not take their word for it. A Congress document issued February 11, 1959 reads 'the Steelworkers have the jurisdiction in the mining industry.' What is the policy of the Congress on directly chartered locals? Canadian Labor Congress Constitution Article 11 Section 1 reads: 'to form and to charter organizing committees and directly charter local unions and to secure their affiliation to appropriate national and international unions affiliated with the Congress.'

Despite all the promises to the contrary by individuals, the Canadian Labor Congress Constitution definitely states that there is only one road for a Congress chartered local in the mining industry and that is into Steel.<sup>159</sup>

Shortly after, William Longridge, Secretary-Treasurer of Mine-Mill issued the following open letter to the trade union movement of Canada:

The facts are being made available to you because the situation is of national importance to the trade union movement. Among the facts revealed is a sordid one that Claude Jodoin, President of the Canadian Labor Congress and William Dodge, CLC Vice President, took part in secret meetings in hotels and motels at which a conspiracy to turn the Mine-Mill Local 598 over to the Steelworkers was discussed.

This is the background: K.A. Smith, President of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union took administrative action under the Mine-Mill Constitution when Tom Taylor, former member of Local 598 executive board, revealed that a sessionist plot was afoot to deliver the local union to the Steelworkers.

When it was revealed that such a conspiracy existed, President Smith took immediate action under the Mine-Mill Constitution and appointed an administrator to safeguard the rights of the local's membership.

Former Local 598 executive board member, Tom Taylor, who's affidavit pinned down the conspiracy, has sworn that during July and August of this year, he attended meetings with the officials of the Canadian Labor Congress and the Steel Union, and which plans were made to deliver the Mine-Mill Local to Steel.

Among the details that Taylor has sworn to in his affidavit is that he attended meetings in the hotel at Sturgeon Falls and at Cassio's Motel in Sudbury and that among those attending the secret meetings were Claude Jodoin, President of the Canadian Labor Congress and Vice President Dodge. Others included William Mahoney, Canadian Director of Steel, L. Sefton, Director District 6 of Steel and other persons associated with the Congress and with Steel. Meeting with these Congress and Steel officials were members of the 598 executive board headed by Don Gillis.<sup>160</sup>

Against these differences between Mine-Mill and the Steelworkers and the reported rational for it, must be placed similar differences between UE and the Steelworkers. In February of 1948, shortly before the incident described above, C.S. Jackson, Canadian President of UE contacted Pat Conroy, Secretary-Treasurer of the CLC " . . . asking that he step

in to halt the raiding practices of the United Steelworkers of America against the UE." The specific case was alleged raids against UE membership at English Electric in St. Catherines. According to Jackson:

It becomes the duty of Congress officials to demand a halt to raiding. At the same time a statement should be issued to make clear to the public the serious view that the Congress takes of raiding and to call upon the English Electric Workers to resist the labor splitting action of Steel, and to remain within the UE - the union which holds jurisdiction in this field. Little more than 10% of the English Electric membership attended the meeting at which attempts were made to have this local switch affiliation, and the majority voting in favor was very small. The raiding of this local union apparently has the blessing of regional director John Mitchell who is quoted in the press as adding encouragement to the move.<sup>161</sup>

The reply of President A.R. Mosher and Secretary-Treasurer Pat Conroy is given below and illustrates the apparent inability of the Congress to do much about it:

President Mosher and I have had a very serious discussion on the contents of your telegram, and we are jointly of the opinion that raiding by any organization in the Congress against another is the principle that cannot be condoned.

Nevertheless, we should like to point out to you that a substantial number of organizations in the Congress, notably the United Steelworkers of America, your own union, District 50 of the United Mine Workers of America, and the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, have refused to abide by the decisions of the Congress Jurisdictional Committee and have continued to follow the policy of extending their jurisdiction into those of other affiliates. Your union and others . . . have decisions rendered against them by the Jurisdictional Committee and have refused to adhere to them. As the result of the refusal of these unions to abide by constitutional procedure, the position of the Congress officers is that we are not going to listen to requests or complaints of unions on the question of raiding, no matter which union is concerned, so long as that union refuses to abide by the policies, principles, and further the advice of the officers of the Congress, on the question of jurisdiction.<sup>162</sup>

The words of Mosher and Conroy were selected not only because they illustrate the impotent position of all national centers on the issue of raiding, but also because they identify the crux of the problem - reluctance on the part of the internationals and the nationals to do anything meaningful about it. This is most unfortunate for because of the intensity of inter-union conflict and particularly a lack of public understanding and appreciation for it, these differences have badly tarnished the public image of the movement and turned against it many who on other grounds would have given aid and comfort to the movement.

However, the real loser as a result of both intra-union and inter-union conflict is not the institution of trade unionism nor its leadership but the rank and file trade union member. During incidents of this type it is largely beyond his means or power to do anything about it and in the meantime efforts and resources are expended on activities which will have little bearing on his work environment.<sup>163</sup> He is bombarded by a host of appeals from the competing parties on issues that he seemingly does not really care about and which he rarely understands.<sup>164</sup> On the otherhand, public policy guarantees to him the right to be represented by a union of his own choosing but, on the otherhand, this right seems to be inoperative in the context of intra-union and inter-union conflict. In the face of the apparent inability of trade unions to guarantee this right in the ongoing aspects of Canada's labor-management relationship, one must wonder if public policy should extend the principle beyond the certification process into the day-to-day functioning of trade unions and the relations among each other.<sup>165</sup> As it stands now, the

philosophy of Canadian trade unions on the issue of intra-union and inter-union affairs takes little cognizance of the rights and wishes of rank and file unionist. It is all too easy for a skillful and manipulative leadership to hide behind a protective constitutional veil and to profess commitment to goodness and purity rather than call upon the rank and file for a declaration of its wishes and free expression.

J. PHILOSOPHY ON EXTERNAL ISSUES: A SUMMARY

The dimensions of Canadian trade union philosophy on external issues stand in marked contrast with issues internal in nature. First, it is an area of philosophy which is largely but not exclusively in the philosophical jurisdiction of the national centers as opposed to the international and national unions. The large bulk of philosophical expressions are found in TLC, ACCL, CCL, and CLC submissions to governments and their agencies and commentaries in their respective proceedings, journals, and papers. Second, it is a much less positive philosophy than the philosophy expressed on internal issues. Less positive in a sense that the degree of commitment to it is less and, rather than advancing labors own philosophy, the movement relies almost completely on criticizing the philosophy of others - usually the governments of the day. Third, unlike many of the internal issues this aspect of philosophy seldom generated internal conflict within the trade union movement. It seems to be a less controversial subject in that it either embraces issues on which the movement is in substantial agreement or the differences are so slight that it is not worth arguing about. The trade union movement does not look at external issues as matters of principle. Fourth, unlike much of the philosophy on internal issues the philosophy on external issues is largely home-grown. The international connection seems to be of less of an influence in philosophical formulation the result possibly of the national rather than North American character of most of the issues in the external category and the central role of Canadian Governments in matters external in nature. Fifth, philosophy on external issues is not clearly

articulated. That is, it is difficult to draw firm conclusions on just what precisely the attitudes, values, and outlook of the movement are on issues external in nature. Although possibly somewhat trite, the review of external philosophy leads one to the conclusion that its philosophy is best expressed in the well known Gompers obiterdictum of simply "more, more, and more."

The study of trade union philosophy on external issues in many respects is a reflection of some of the dimensions of the "workers society" reviewed earlier in the discussion of labor's philosophy on political action. Although quite ill-defined, (there does not seem to be a grand scheme) trade union pronouncements on matters external seem to be made against the context of certain ideas as to how society should be structured and the way in which the economic system should be operated. The central focus of attention is always the role, function, and power of government as relates to the rights of the individual citizen.

Issues external in nature were classified in this study in terms of four categories - social welfare which included pensions, unemployment insurance, family allowances, health insurance, education, and workmen's compensation; economic policy which included housing, international trade, banking and credit institutions, employment, nationalization of industry, income tax, and manpower development and utilization; structure of government which included the constitution, parliamentary affairs, and governmental decision-making procedures; and foreign affairs. Because of the apparent lack of interest in the last two categories, only issues relating to social welfare and economic policy will be discussed here. However, it

should be noted with respect to foreign affairs that the approach and position of Mine-Mill and the UE followed precisely the doctrines of the communist supported World Federation of Trade Unions. In addition, the vast majority of the documents relating to this issue in these unions were written by foreign authors. With respect to issues relating to the structure of government, the one consistent theme was the demand for the abolition of the Canadian Senate. (It was frequently referred to as representing ". . . all that is evil in Canadian capitalism.")

#### Social Welfare

Efforts devoted to issues relating to social welfare amounted to only a small fraction of the total efforts devoted to external issues. The vast bulk of efforts were devoted to issues relating to economic policy. One possible explanation for what might be to some an unanticipated result lies in the predominant reliance by the Canadian trade union movement on collective bargaining and the collective agreement. Issues within the category of social welfare relate primarily to the economic welfare of the individual Canadian worker - his family, health, and retirement. The Canadian trade union movement looks to the employment situation to provide this welfare and, unlike other trade union movements, not to the state. As a result, trade union expressions of philosophy are limited to those areas where the state shares with the employer the role of worker welfare provider. In addition, it may well be that the portion of Canadian society which is affected by social welfare activities, which bulk large in terms of government expenditures, are not those covered under the umbrella of trade unionism. They may be the unorganized and by definition do not have

the collective bargaining vehicle available to them. Writing in 1951 the editor of the Canadian Railway Monthly, while commenting on the surge of interest in employee pensions, noted that: "Employees have taken advantage of their stronger bargaining position, resulting both from labor shortages and from larger union membership, to press for welfare plans. This pressure has become particularly noticeable recently as efforts to secure direct wage increases have become a somewhat less active issue in collective bargaining."<sup>166</sup>

Despite the long history of government involvement with old age pensions (1927) trade unions have relied almost exclusively on employer negotiated pension plans which provide abundantly greater welfare than the government operated plan. Their criticisms of the Federal plan focus primarily on the amount (too low), qualifying age (too high), and the means test requirement. (Discriminates against those who manage their income).<sup>167</sup>

To Canadian trade unionists employer pension plans, indeed all forms of employee welfare, are justified on the grounds that advancing industrial technologies and urbanization place a premium on youth. As this occurs: ". . . it means a greater and greater chance of unemployment, less opportunity to see his family through the years of higher educational costs, a growing feeling that society has no longer any use for him, and that his skill is not needed." But, they argue, it was from the production of the older worker that the new technology emerged. "It is this fact which present day society, for its own benefit and for the benefit of the increasing portion of older men and women in its midst, should realize

and should act upon."<sup>168</sup> Labor Research expressed the issue this way:

It must be recognized, first of all, that welfare through the state is an inevitable concomitant of industrialization and urbanization.

This process of urbanization has transformed millions of Canadians from self sufficient, property owning, home owning farmers into city dwelling wage earners. As wage earners they are dependent on forces far beyond their control: cyclical change, plant shutdowns, technological progress, changes in consumer tastes, and so on. They are by and large without resources other than their labor power. They are seldom if ever capable of building up anything like adequate funds in anticipation of old age. The needs of a growing family, the depletion of savings by illness, the loss of earnings through unemployment, all contributed, in an industrial society, to the creation of large masses of people who are unable by themselves alone to provide for their economic security.<sup>168</sup>

When the government of Canada announced in 1938 its decision to introduce unemployment insurance it was unanimously endorsed by labor as a "commendable move." At first, the only concern was who would pay for it. It was argued that ". . . workers generally did not receive sufficient incomes to provide adequate standards of living, and that the cost . . . should be a direct charge upon industry . . . ." However, if worker contributions were necessary ". . . there should be specific exemptions for those in receipt of low wages."<sup>169</sup>

Over the years labor, as one would expect, continued to embrace the concept of unemployment insurance with its major concern being the way in which the fund was administered. Major attention was directed to (a) qualifying requirements, (b) rates of benefits, (c) period of coverage, (d) disqualifications, and (e) waiting period. Labor adopted the attitude that the qualifying requirements were too severe, rates of benefits were too low, period of coverage was too short, disqualifications were too severe,

and the waiting period too long. Repeatedly, either through the national center or through individual international and national trade unions labor presented government its arguments in favor of improvements in each of these five areas.<sup>170</sup>

In 1961, in its brief to the Gill commission, a frustrated UE advocated sweeping changes in the plan as the result of its conclusion that "unemployment is not an insurable hazard." It proposed that the insurance approach be abandoned and that the "Federal Government accept, on behalf of the Canadian society as a whole, the responsibility for providing unemployment benefits . . . of seventy-five percent of an employees income level during the period of unemployment." To finance such a scheme it urged the doubling of present employer contributions and the redirecting of funds presently used in the military budget. Its argument against direct employee contributions was that "workers are wholly the victims of unemployment. They can do nothing to avoid it, to remove its causes, or to assuage its effects. To ask workers to pay for unemployment benefits is like forcing pedestrians to pay motorists public liability damage bills in auto accidents."<sup>171</sup> When the report itself was released in late 1962, a disappointed UE identified it as a ". . . severe threat to the working people of Canada" and one that ". . . threatens even further the limited advantages of present unemployment insurance coverage."<sup>172</sup>

The CLC, for its part, was not as concerned but still received the report with "mixed feelings." According to Claude Jodoin:

In our view the report represents an effort to revert the Unemployment Insurance Act to its austensible purpose - to deal with relatively short term unemployment.

We note that the major objective of the committee has been to establish the Unemployment Insurance Act on what it considers to be sound insurance principles, although the report is careful to point out that there are substantial differences between social insurance and commercial or private insurance.

We have been pleased to find that the committee shares our views on a number of points. The report recommends: that coverage should be extended to various categories of employees now excluded; that the practice of a general pooling of the risk be preserved and that merit rating not be adopted; that the rates of benefit be increased to a higher ratio of earnings; that there be no special regulations for married women; that the National Employment Service be strengthened; that the Unemployment Insurance Advisory Committee be given increased status; and that the staff of the Unemployment Insurance Commission be increased.

At the same time we are concerned about certain other recommendations which may have an adverse effect on unemployed workers filing claims for benefits. Among these are: exclusions from coverage of workers under eighteen years of age; the proposed change in the eligibility requirement for entitlement and the changes in the system of contributions which in turn affect eligibility; the exclusion of workers affected by seasonal unemployment from regular benefits, together with the elimination of the present system of seasonal benefits; the requirement that pension payments, vacation pay, severance pay, supplemental employment benefits and other payments be treated as earnings, with a consequent reduction in benefits; a more restrictive section of the act dealing with work stoppages and a more rigid interpretation of the term suitability as it applies to referrals to employment.

The position of our organization has been that unemployment insurance can be effective only when the economy is dynamic and unemployment is held to a low level, or what is generally known as frictional unemployment.

The Congress is, therefore, pleased to note the observation in the report that . . . a plan of extended benefits . . . can be justified only if it is accompanied by vigorous and effective action to discover and remove the causes of unemployment in question.<sup>173</sup>

Of the six specific issues within the category of social welfare the issue of health insurance received the bulk of international and

national union attention and efforts. Inasmuch as the early "friendly societies," the forerunners of today's trade unions, were formed with the purpose of providing sickness and death benefits, this observation should not be particularly surprising. In addition, it was not until recent years that substantial progress was made on this issue through the collective bargaining route. Even today, there is considerable variation in coverage from one industry to another. However, the trade union movement believes that any single approach, collective bargaining or state aid, is not sufficient and calls for joint efforts from both - the former to provide the "insurance" and the latter the facilities and quality of care.

Although union interest in health care goes back many decades, it was in 1943 that it became a discernible and active development within trade union philosophy. At that time the Federal Government announced that it was ". . . contemplating the introduction of a health insurance measure." Trade union response as expected, was most favorable, no doubt as the result of several recent studies which had commented on the ". . . deplorable state of health care in Canada."<sup>174</sup>

The tabling of the Marsh report and the Heagerty draft of a Health Insurance Act in the House of Commons further quickened trade union interests. The CBRT, commenting on these developments, complimented the Canadian Medical Association for its endorsement of the idea and for its ". . . co-operative attitude in regard to health insurance . . . a refreshing contrast to the conservative, in fact reactionary, attitude of the American Medical Association . . . ." It commented:

"It remains now for the government to take the necessary steps to introduce a comprehensive scheme of health insurance. In this it will have the unqualified support of the labor movement of the entire community."<sup>175</sup>

The introduction in Saskatchewan of free hospitalization under the Hospitalization Act of 1947 was widely heralded by trade union organizations in the light of the fact that ". . . relatively few industrial groups have succeeded in wresting health insurance from their employers in the process of collective bargaining." The following comments of the CBRT not only indicate the typical reaction of labor but serve to illustrate the principles upon which health insurance should be built:

Thus are the people of Saskatchewan securing relief from the worry, uncertainty and expense which accompany illness. Thus also, are they raising the health standards of the people in the province generally. They are able to accomplish these ends because they stand solidly behind the theory that health should be a common heritage of all people . . . good health must be placed within the reach of every citizen, irrespective of his ability to pay.

Health, therefore, is coming to be regarded as a public utility, at least as necessary as fire and police protection, and as such the responsibility of government to provide. Today essential services are provided by the state through a levy upon all persons in the form of taxes. The same principle now applies to hospitalization. On January 1st, hospitalization became a public utility and a public duty, the costs of which are met by the public as a whole, and the benefits of which are enjoyed by those who need them . . . without charge and without regard for the individual ability to pay.<sup>176</sup>

Despite the federal talk of a health care plan and developments at the provincial level, the main trade union efforts to improve health care were devoted to the bargaining table. In 1952 the UE adopted a

resolution calling for it to ". . . push forward in the most forthright manner for full health and welfare plans to be recognized in our collective agreements and to be fully paid for by the employers."<sup>177</sup>

In 1957 the CLC opted in favor of a national health plan arguing that the collective bargaining route would not satisfactorily deal with the problem. While it was admitted that a portion of the organized work force had some type of health coverage, the situation was far from acceptable. First, a large number of industrial workers were not covered and in some cases coverage did not extend to the workers family. Second, the private plans were expensive and did not give full value for their money. Third, private plans gave protection only to people in established groups, and to a large degree, to people with a reasonable income. The position of the CLC was further elaborated in the pages of Canadian Transport as follows:

The CLC, in its statements on health insurance, has consistently emphasized the need for a comprehensive plan. This means a plan which would provide complete medical, dental, hospital, surgical and nursing service. Such a plan would include preventative and diagnostic, as well as curative and rehabilitative services by physicians, surgeons, dentists and other specialists, and hospitals and other agencies. The CLC also envisages a plan which would make provision for home care in suitable cases, thus relieving the pressure on hospitals.

From time to time proposals have been advanced, largely by interests not favorably inclined to the idea of a national plan, that protection should be restricted to the "disaster" or "catastrophic" class. This would mean that people would meet the ordinary health expenditures themselves but would get some measure of assistance if they were faced with unusually heavy expenditures. The CLC is completely opposed to this idea.

Health is properly a national responsibility because it directly affects the welfare of the country and no one is immune from the possible need of health services.

The possible increase in cost of the comprehensive national plan is the cost of providing service to people who need, but are not now getting adequate service. This may be partially offset by a saving effected by pooling expenditures on health and eliminating the high administrative cost of private plans.<sup>178</sup>

### Economic Policy

The category of economic policy embraces a number of specific issues all of which relate to government involvement in the management of the Canadian economic system. For the purposes of this study these specific issues include housing, international trade, banking and credit institutions, employment, nationalization of industry, income tax, and manpower development and utilization.

Canadian trade union philosophy on issues relating to economic policies, like social welfare issues, are not particularly positive in character and through time are often contradictory. The movement is highly critical of most government economic policies and frequently the movement is divided - that is, some elements supporting government policy, others opposing. However, in general there is a fair consensus on the principles which should govern government policy with differences centering on specific aspects of policy. It is also abundantly clear that labor's interest in economic policy is because of its close relationship to labor's efforts in the collective bargaining arena. As a generalization, labor philosophy towards the area of economic policy is that policy should facilitate and complement its efforts in the field of collective bargaining. To illustrate, Eugene Forsey writing in 1944 on the question of post war economic policies and labor's involvement in them warned that "unions must continue as in the past to devote themselves mainly to protecting

the economic interests of their members."<sup>180</sup> If a given government policy complements a given collective bargaining objective, labor will support it. If it frustrates a given bargaining objective, it will oppose it. In short, the Canadian trade union movement has in mind a very precise role for the economic policies of government.

Some of the best trade union statements articulating the role of government economic policy were published during the latter years of World War II and during the subsequent period of reconversion. Succinctly stated, the role was one which ". . . offers full employment at the highest possible standard of living" or alternatively, as the UE put it, the role of government in economic policy is to ". . . provide action to insure full employment and maintain living standards."<sup>179</sup> The CBRT expressed it as ". . . continuous employment at a high level of wages" and added "a prerequisite to full employment is full production."<sup>181</sup> The CCL and TLC, in a joint brief to the Gordon Commission on Canadian Economic Prospects presented in 1956, identified the first aim of our economic system as the ". . . highest possible standard of living for all ordinary Canadians: maximum sustained incomes and fair shares."<sup>182</sup> Some of the more specific terms used to describe this role included, ". . . putting the interests of Canada before private interests," "putting human interests first," "supplying all the people with all the needs for a full life," "an equal opportunity to live and to receive an education for life," "collective interest before private interest" and, "full production."<sup>183</sup>

Having set forth this role for government economic policy, it goes without saying that the movement fully expected governments to take action

toward these objectives. As pointed out by Pat Conroy in 1951: "We are in a situation at the present time in which because of inflationary spirals in living costs, it is becoming difficult for the average family to maintain its standard of living . . . believing as we do, unless governmental action is taken, Canada will find itself in an extremely grave economic condition."<sup>184</sup> As would be expected, much of the trade union comment centered on (a) the reluctance of governments to take action and (b) the specific steps that government should take to counter evidence of a failure to reach the objectives of full employment and the highest possible standard of living. Usually these commentaries were in the form of briefs or submissions to provincial and federal governments or to commissions, and usually part of the lobbying efforts conducted by most of the larger trade unions in Canada. To illustrate, in a brief prepared in 1951, the UE called for the Federal government ". . . to rectify the conditions which are creating serious layoffs in this branch of the electrical industry," and it was emphasized in correspondence with the Ontario Government that ". . . we consider as an important part of the responsibility of the Provincial Government the undertaking of projects which will advance the living standards of the people and contribute towards steady employment and increase wages."<sup>185</sup>

In a brief prepared for the Federal government in 1954, the UE demanded that the government of Canada recognize the ". . . clear and inescapable responsibility of the government to assure that our people have jobs, that living standards are protected . . . and provide a reasonable standard of living." They rejected what they called the "wait and see attitude" of the government and demanded that it take

immediate action. It was noted that the UE and the people we represent " . . . have strong opinions on what should constitute government policy to overcome the dangers that now so clearly threaten the economy." The UE proposed, among other things, that the full employment objective could be reached through (a) expanding trade (particularly with the communist block), (b) legislation against United States "dumping" in the Canadian market, (c) development of new industry in Canada, and (d) the re-establishment of the Canadian Merchant Marine.<sup>186</sup>

In its joint brief to the Gordon Commission, the CCL and the TLC called for government action to improve productivity in Canadian industry, ease the impact of automation and technological change, check foreign control of Canadian industry, introduce social planning, introduce health insurance, and change the statutory structure of the labor-management relationship.<sup>187</sup>

In 1958 the CLC outlined its program of full employment and called upon " . . . governments, industry, and labor to fulfill their responsibilities to put Canada's economy on an even keel." Commenting on existing government policies it charged that " . . . it is treasonable to adopt a pollyanna attitude and pretend that if people stop talking about unemployment it will go away." Among the several courses of action available to the federal and provincial governments it advocated:

1. Further relaxation of the tight money policy by the bank of Canada.
2. Immediately vote money for public works.
3. Provide funds to subsidize housing and so enable National Housing Act interest rates to be lowered.

4. Bring down a budget which will reduce taxes to provide increased purchasing power.
5. Increase unemployment insurance benefits and lengthen benefit periods.
6. Increase old age pensions, family allowances and other social security payments.
7. Adopt a generous program of aid to underdeveloped countries.
8. Authorize public works programs to build schools, hospitals, highways, and so on.
9. Raise minimum wages.
10. Enact forty-hour week legislation.
11. Immediate use should be made of the Housing Act provisions to launch slum clearance and low rental housing programs, and
12. Public Works projects should be accelerated, including paving of streets, sidewalks and extension of municipal service.<sup>188</sup>

In its 1961 brief, the UE called upon the government of Canada to accept their responsibility ". . . to initiate the underlying economic policies which will create the proper climate, encourage appropriate action by private business, and spur progress in solving the problem of putting Canada to work."<sup>189</sup>

To the Canadian trade union movement, the ineffectiveness of government economic policies in terms of trade union objectives (as they have concluded) is the result of the failure of the Canadian economic system to adopt meaningful economic planning. Increasingly, the movement seems to have come to the conclusion that anything short of this will not bring forth the full employment and high wage level objectives that the movement seeks from government economic policies. Writing in 1962

Morden Lazarus of the Ontario Federation of Labor expressed it this way: "If our objective is full employment, full use of our productive capacity, better farm prices, better wages, better housing, better health services, better education, better arts, better use of leisure, we must PLAN for it." In addition, ". . . the elected government should be the supreme planning authority."<sup>190</sup> In 1964 Bill Dodge, Executive Vice President of the CLC expressed the representative view that "Canadian labor believes in economic planning and we think it is an essential weapon for dealing with the many unresolved economic problems this country faces" and went on to elaborate more fully on what the trade union movement has in mind. The following are his major points:

1. The Congress has for years taken the position that economic planning adapted to the economic and political conditions of this country, is essential to achieve and maintain full employment.
2. Canadian labor recognizes that the kind of economic planning in which it may be asked to participate during the next few years will be a far cry from the 'planned economy' which has been the inspiration of some of the ideological based resolutions adopted by trade unions in the past. That is because Canadians are beginning to accept planning as a means of solving problems, and not necessarily as a philosophy.
3. One of the reasons for the change of heart is the realization that economic planning is possible within the framework of a free society and need not involve serious encroachment by government upon the private sector. Labor also is interested nowadays primarily in the solution of problems; not in planning for the sake of planning. Consequently, the question is approached with no preconceived ideas about how much planning is wanted, how much regulation, control and guidance by government will be necessary, what kind of planning will be done and who will do it.
4. Labor is not prepared to give up its prerogatives in the field of collective bargaining. There probably will always be considerable dispute about the sharing

of the fruits of production and there is no indication that economic planning programs in Europe have eliminated or even substantially reduced this area of dispute. Collective bargaining procedures in some form may well prove to be the best method of achieving fair shares to the factors of production, and of preserving certain dynamic aspects of the labor-management relationship.

5. On the other hand, if labor becomes a partner in economic planning, some modification of this ad hoc approach to wages policy may become advisable. At least a united wages policy must eventually emerge and demands for improvements in both wages and social legislation will have to bear some relationship to the agreed goals of an adequate rate of economic growth and national productivity increases.

6. For the Canadian labor movement, this will mean a considerable shift in the centers of influence in policy making. At present, collective bargaining policy is the exclusive preserve of the individual affiliated unions (at least in the CLC). Gearing contract provisions to national economic policy decisions will require a much more closely coordinated policy structure than exists at the present time. The main problem will probably not be the gaining of Canadian autonomy, but rather persuading those which possess it to give some of it up to a central body.

7. One of the most difficult problems will be convincing the rank-and-file membership of unions that bread and butter issues cannot always be settled in the complex world of today in terms of cents per hour and fringe benefits, which are simple objectives gained through well understood mechanisms. Union members will have to understand that the collective bargaining issues of the future may include, in addition to wages and working conditions, questions of employment security, employee retraining programs, labor force mobility and productivity.

K. CONCLUSIONS

The findings reported in the preceding pages lead one to a number of conclusions which relate not only to the questions initially posed in this study, but are pertinent to the work of the Federal Task Force. For reporting purposes, these conclusions have been grouped under three headings. First, conclusions which relate to or set forth the major distinguishing characteristics of Canadian trade union philosophy. Second, conclusions relating to the sources within the movement which contribute to trade union philosophy and the character of this contribution. Third, conclusions which relate to the content of trade union philosophy and which are valuable in dealing with it.

Characteristics of Philosophy

Philosophy and Labor History. The history of the trade union movement of Canada is largely the history of trade union organizations seeking an effective philosophical framework acceptable to all elements within it. Effective in the sense that it is supportive of the objectives which organized labor seeks, and acceptable in the sense that it will accommodate within it and subsequently receive the support of organizations which differ in attitudes, values, and outlook and which feel strongly about it. Despite the movement's persistent call for "labor unity" - meaning a common set of objectives, a common philosophy, and a harmonious relationship among unions - sharp and deep-rooted differences on philosophical issues lead, until recent times to the

balkanization of the movement and internal quarrels and division. The central issue within philosophy which led to this condition was the establishment of an international trade union philosophy rather than a national trade union philosophy. Out of this single element sprang a host of issues over which, for over fifty-three years, there was little or no compromise. These issues included differences on (a) craft verses industrial form of organization, (b) political action verses political nonalignment, and (c) Canadian trade union self-determination (Canadian autonomy) to a very high degree, changes in philosophy represented a realization on the part of organized labor, or a portion of organized labor, that the existing philosophical framework was impotent and without results.

Philosophy and Structure. Canadian trade union philosophy on internal issues and the structure of the movement are intimately related. To change philosophy is to change structure. It would be an error to separate trade union philosophy from trade union structure. Canadian trade union structure is dictated by Canadian trade union philosophy. Matters internal in nature are the subjects of trade union constitutions and are embraced in the process of affiliation - a local to an international or national and they in turn to a national center. The resulting structure with its inferior and superior bodies is simply the organizational manifestation of this philosophy. The long standing structural divisions within the Canadian trade union movement were initially precipitated by the Berlin Declaration of 1903. This declaration set forth specific constitutional expressions of philosophy relating to internal issues in trade union philosophy. Under this declaration, labor bodies which were

not prepared to accept these aspects of TLC philosophy were excluded from its structure. No one element within the structure has had sufficient power to force acceptance of a particular philosophy on the other elements in the structure. As such, each element has little to prevent it from adopting an alternative philosophical position.

Inter-Union Pluralism. There is little in trade union structure and government that forces inter-union conformity in philosophy. What conformity there is simply represents a voluntary commitment to common philosophical elements. However, this is not a strong commitment, and it is quite easy for a given trade union to quickly adopt alternative attitudes, values, and outlook. The international and national trade unions have autonomy in the area of philosophy and as such are accountable to no one for it. Attempts by national centers or other trade unions to force conformity or accountability have proven to be quite ineffective. No one element of the structure has had sufficient power to force acceptance of a particular philosophy on the other elements of the structure. As such, each element has little to prevent it from adopting an alternative philosophical position. As a result, and because of the degree of inter-union differences in philosophy over the period under review, it is meaningless to speak in terms of "the philosophy of the trade union movement" it would be more correct to speak of the "philosophies" of the movement. Recognizing that the structure of the movement is made up of many elements, there have at times been on some issues as many philosophies as elements. At other times, there has been near complete unanimity on matters of philosophy.

Intra-Union Conformity. However, there is much in trade union structure and government which encourages intra-union conformity in philosophy particularly on internal issues. The source of this conformity is the constitution and the commitment of an inferior body to it as the result of the process of affiliation. The local union, in return for a wide variety of services and benefits which flow from affiliation, is expected in return to commit itself fully to any aspects of philosophy embraced by the constitution and any other aspects of philosophy which flow from the trade union system of government. As a result, locals are not looked to in terms of philosophical position and any attempt on their part to deal with it carries with it great risks as the costs are high.

Self-Centeredness. Canadian trade union philosophy is extremely self-centered with little interest in some elements of philosophy which one might expect of organizations of this type. Along with this the range of issues which receive the bulk of trade union concern is also narrower than what one might expect. While the movement professes to champion the cause of the situation of the industrial labor force caught up in the complexities of industrialism, its interests really go little farther than its members self-interest at the bargaining table. Their intense criticism of the views of others on issues external in character and their lack of constructive alternatives is particularly disappointing. Despite their professed desire to be an accepted element within Canadian social and economic affairs and to participate in the resolution of Canada's social and economic problems, their position taken on issues is frequently so severe that one must wonder if they are really serious in this desire.

This "way-out" position has bought them little in the way of results and in the minds of many must have introduced what might best be described as a "credibility gap."

Articulation. Canadian trade union philosophy has been extremely well articulated in the pages of the labor press and the proceedings of conventions of a host of trade union bodies. Differences over philosophy, and there have been many, have not been ignored or hidden but are openly discussed in a very frank and succinct way. This may be the result of the very "open" character of most Canadian trade unions. There are individuals in the movement, such as editors and feature writers, who obviously have given a great deal of thought to matters of philosophy and have an unusual ability to express their views in written form. The publications of the CBRT, USW, UE, and CLC offer excellent illustrations.

Commitment. The Canadian trade union movement has demonstrated a deep-seated commitment to most issues within its philosophy even in the face of the disintegration and general disruption which this commitment created. On most issues, particularly those internal in character, positions ran very deep and the movement showed very little inclination to compromise regardless of the consequences.

Philosophy and Behaviour. Trade union philosophy has a direct influence on trade union behaviour. In many instances a knowledge of the philosophy of the movement on some issues makes it possible to predict behaviour. This is particularly true of issues which relate to the labor-management relationship and the role and character of public policy in this relationship.

Efforts Devoted to Philosophy. The internationals, nationals, and national centers studied have devoted a lot of effort to matters of trade union philosophy. This characteristic is so predominant that it leads one to conclude that philosophy is very much an integral part of the concept of trade unionism itself.

Variations in Emphases. The period under review breaks down into five periods of distinct emphasis in philosophy. These shifts in emphasis appear to be a function of (a) the intensity of differences over internal issues, and (b) the character of the socio-economic climate within which the trade union movement must operate.

#### Contributors to Philosophy

Philosophy Jurisdictions. Some elements within the trade union movement have had more interest in and more to say on some issues in philosophy than other elements. Most of the internal issues in philosophy are of interest to and are set down by the national and international labor organizations and their locals. On the other hand, and subject to the qualification noted immediately below, it is the national centers which have had most interest in and influence on the formulation of philosophy on issues external in character. It is clear that in internal matters such as (a) labor-management relations, (b) labor and political action, (c) internal trade union affairs, and (d) the regulation of employer practices, the philosophy relating to these issues is determined and expressed by the national and international unions. On the other hand, in matters which are external in nature such as (a) social welfare, (b) economic policy, (c) the structure of government, and (d) foreign affairs,

the philosophy appears to be primarily determined and expressed by national centers. Primarily in the sense that the national and international due influence, indeed formulate, the philosophy of the national center. On the other hand, seldom has the national center influenced the philosophy of the national and international unions. There is considerable evidence to conclude that in matters internal the national and international unions are autonomous. On the other hand, the national center " . . . is merely a creature of its affiliated organizations."

Sources of Philosophy. The only true sources of trade union philosophy are the international and national trade unions and their affiliated locals. The philosophy of the national center is at best a reflection of the philosophy of these true sources. In addition, the role of the national center in philosophy formulation is defined by its affiliated international, national and local trade unions. In turn the specific formulators of philosophy include the conventions and the executive councils of the international and national trade unions and the national centers.

Influences in Philosophy. There have been six major influences which have shaped the character and content of Canadian trade union philosophy. Two of these influences emanated from foreign sources whereas four were domestic in source. By far the most influential has been the international trade union structure. The other influences included (a) doctrines of international communism, (b) the structure of the Canadian system of government, (c) the geographical distribution of Canadian industry, and (d) the level of economic activity in Canada.

International Relationship. The international relationship was by far the most important influence on the character and content of Canadian trade union philosophy. Because of this influence, the movement not so much as formulated a philosophy as it adopted a philosophy (some times quite reluctantly). Throughout the period under review there are indications that this relationship may be weakening as the result of, (a) the narrowing of differences in internal trade union philosophy, (b) the trend to the extension of greater autonomy to Canadian sections of international unions, and (c) attempts to strengthen the influence and power of the national center.

The influence of the international relationship has been great because, except for the national organizations and a few Canadian sections of internationals which hold Canadian conventions or "policy conferences," their simply have been no Canadian forums out of which trade union philosophy could be generated. This outcome is a logical result of an international structure which considers Canadian operations as simply part and parcel of the unions jurisdiction to be governed in the same way as any other part of its jurisdiction. The philosophy of such bodies is the philosophy of the union as a whole, not a section of it either Canadian or American. However, inasmuch as the vast majority of the membership of these unions is American, it is for all intents and purposes an American philosophy.

It would be a great mistake to under-estimate the influence of this organic link on philosophy formulation in Canada. To a very great extent, it has preempted the necessity of the movement to formulate a philosophy of its own. This presence has greatly contributed to the

comparatively muted, illusive, halfhearted interest in philosophy shown by Canadian trade union movement when compared to the interest in philosophy of its American counterparts. Or alternatively, the active interest in matters of philosophy shown by national unions and internationals which have conventions of Canadian sections as opposed to those Canadian sections of internationals which do not. More often than not, the attitudes, values, and outlook of an international union operating in Canada on given issues are those of the international at large and in most cases the debate and dialogue associated with formulating it has preceded the raising of the issue in Canada. The presence of internationals in Canada also affected the degree to which national centers such as the TLC and CCL were able to contribute to the formulation of Canadian trade union philosophy. The philosophy of the TLC and CCL could not deviate substantially from that of the internationals because of the overwhelming power that the internationals had in the deliberations of the TLC and the CCL and in its philosophy, policies, and programs.

Recognizing the contemporary concern over the activities of international unions in Canada, it is most important to distinguish here between the control exercised by international unions over the activities of Canadian locals and sections, and their influence on the philosophy adopted by Canadian locals and sections. In terms of control over activities, and it is in terms of control over activities that most criticisms of international unions in Canada are made, the Canadian local is under the same control as any other local. In some cases, such as the Railroad Brotherhoods, it would appear that they are under less control. The trouble

with nearly all criticisms centering on control of activities is that the writers displays an appalling lack of knowledge of the subject of the purposes and functions of central control within both national and international trade union structures. Of course the internationals may control the activities of its Canadian locals. It may control activities in all of its locals.

Control over the affairs of a member local by a central organization (headquarters) was not only necessary for the establishment of a national or international union, but also was the instrument through which the union developed its bargaining power. Although the degree of control exercised by a central organization (headquarters) varies considerably from one union to another (compare the Building Trades with the Teamsters), within each union the degree of control exercised on each affiliated local is the same. Within a given national or international trade union structure, Canadian locals, like American locals, are under this control and the degree of control is basically the same. The source of control is the constitution, convention, executive board, and national or international officers. The constitution is the supreme governing source of control, and the other sources of control are subservient to it and gain their power of control from it. All affiliated locals are governed by the same constitution.

In each case of claimed interference by the international in the activities of a Canadian local, the intervention cannot only be explained but justified by reviewing the constitutional powers of the international to undertake intervention. The activities of a Canadian local are governed

by the same constitutions as other locals, and as part of the process of affiliation all locals are required to abide by the rules and regulations set down by the constitution. If the activities of a Canadian local or of any local contradict established international constitutionally supported rules and regulations, the international has every right to intervene. If a local does not accept this intervention, it is completely free to withdraw its affiliation. This is quite normal and to be expected.

For every case of claimed "control" by the international over the affairs of a Canadian local, one can cite many similar claims voiced by American locals. In all cases, the issues relates to differences of opinion over the internal structure and government of the international union, and has nothing to do with the national location of the particular local. The fact that these very same issues are raised by American locals of international unions, clearly suggests that even if Canada had only national unions the same issues of control and interference would still be raised by member locals. What those who charge "interference" are actually advocating is a labor movement devoid of either national or international unions and compromised solely of self-governing local unions.

The control exercised by national or international unions over its local affiliates is a subject which is well documented in the literature on trade union structure and government. It is this literature which clearly explains and demonstrates that claimed "interference" in Canadian local affairs (indeed, in any local's affairs) cannot only be expected but is simply the old, old issue of local verses central autonomy. It is not

necessary for those who subscribed to the above rationale behind national or international control to further justify their position as this rationale receives wide support in the published literature. It is the responsibility of those who claim that other motives are behind "interference" to prove otherwise. They would do a great service to labor-management relations in Canada and clear the air of much imperfect thinking if they would start by introducing themselves to the literature on the structure and government of national and international trade unions.<sup>6</sup> Any attempt to demonstrate that the rationale for national or international control over Canadian local affairs is based on a rationale other than issues relating to internal structure in government is to work against established thinking.

However, the subject of the influence of international trade union philosophy on Canadian locals is not the same as the subject of control by internationals over the affairs of Canadian locals. They are quite separate subjects. The concern expressed here as the result of this study is not one of "control" or "dictation" but simply the lack of forums out of which Canadian trade union philosophy could be generated because of the international relationship. It does not necessarily lead one to advocate the breaking of this relationship because, as has been demonstrated in some international unions (but not enough), the international link and the conventions of Canadian sections can coexist quite nicely.

#### Content of Philosophy

Scope and Emphases. The Canadian trade union movement has definite and clearly articulated opinions on a wide variety and range of subjects

ranging from comment on the economic system, Canadian society, through to the labor-management relationship itself. It has attitudes towards itself and world around it, values to which it subscribes, and an outlook which distinguishes it from other Canadian institutions. It constantly assumes a questioning and critical stance. It is extremely aware of its environment and equally aware of the implications on it of the events that take place in this environment.

Trade union philosophy looks inward as well as outward. It looks inward to ask three fundamental questions: (a) what is the role of organized labor and what are its objectives, (b) what means or methods should be used to pursue these objectives and, as a corollary, (c) what structure should be adopted to effectively advance this role, objectives, and method? The answers to these three questions constitute the internal elements of trade union philosophy. In a like manner, trade union philosophy looks outward to ask the question: Is the socio-economic climate in which we operate supportive of the objectives we seek? The answer to this question and its supporting rationale constitute the external elements of philosophy.

The strength or importance of each issue within trade union philosophy varied through time and from one element of trade union structure to another. At one point in time the internal category received major attention with little concern expressed over external issues. At other times it was the opposite. Looking at trade union philosophy in dynamic evolutionary terms one finds a some times slow or some times rapid shifting of emphasis from one issue to another in response to the ever unfolding

developments within the House of Labor or the environment within which it must operate.

While it is quite easy to identify the events and situations which precipitated expressions of philosophy on external matters, the same cannot be said for matters internal in nature. In the latter category, philosophy appears to have been propelled more by the changing thinking and values of the trade union movement's leadership rather than by any specific event or situation. It appears that the repeated breakup of the movement was the result of its inability to develop a philosophy and structure which would accommodate all views and positions within the House of Labor.

While it is not possible to accurately portrait the evolution of trade union philosophy in terms of events or situations which could be called "turning points," it is possible to break the period under study into six quite clearly defined periods of distinct emphasis in matters of trade union philosophy.

Classification of Issues. It is useful for analytical purposes to classify the specific issues which have received the attention of the trade union movement of Canada into two main groups - internal issues or issues within the House of Labor and external issues or issues relating to the economic and social setting within which the trade union movement must function. Internal issues included, (a) the labor-management relationship specifically terms and conditions of employment, right to organize, right to bargain collectively, right to strike, and right to picket, (b) labor and political action, (c) internal trade union affairs,

such as structure of organized labor, government of organized labor, form of organization, and regulation of internal affairs, and (d) regulation of employer practices which included the regulation of prices and profits and defence activities against unions. Issues external in nature included (a) social welfare particularly pensions, unemployment insurance, family allowances, health insurance, education, and workmen's compensation, (b) economic policy, and issues such as housing, international trade, banking and credit institutions, employment, nationalization of industries, income tax, and manpower development and utilization, (c) structure of government particularly the constitution, parliamentary affairs, and governmental decision-making procedures, and (d) foreign affairs.

Major Issues. The major issues dividing the Canadian national centers revolved around primarily internal issues, specifically, (a) labor and political action, (b) the structure of the Canadian trade union movement, and (c) the form of organization. In matters external, there was little that separated the positions of the national centers. By and large, this similarity in positions was the result of the fact that (a) external issues related not so much to matters of trade unionism as they did to matters of working class welfare, and (b) the various national centers were established as a result of sharp differences over internal issues in philosophy.

Looking beyond the national center controversy and the relationship of philosophy to it, Canadian trade union efforts on internal issues focused primarily on (a) the labor-management relationship, more specifically the issues of the right to organize trade unions freely and without

interference from employers, commitment to the processes of collective bargaining and economic sanctions, the facilitating or mediating role of government and government agencies, and the doctrine of the equality of labor and management in the industrial relations relationship, (b) the role of labor in political action, particularly the issue of political non-alignment over political alignment, and (c) internal trade union affairs, including issues relating to the international union relationship, form of organization, and intra-union and inter-union relationships. With respect to external issues, labor's efforts have been devoted primarily to issues relating to social welfare and economic policy and the movement's deep concern over the impact of events in these areas to its program in the labor-management field.

Schools of Philosophy. Despite the very real possibility of differences on philosophy within a given trade union structure, the Canadian trade union movement has established fairly well-defined schools of philosophy. That is, within the structure there is agreement on the basics of philosophy, and the structure stands united in its opposition to structures which represent an alternative school of philosophy. The internal differences are of a minor nature when compared with the differences between the two schools of trade union philosophy. In the latter case, differences focused on basic fundamental issues whereas in the former case differences focused on procedures, degree, or possibly implementation. In terms of philosophy, during the period 1935 through to 1967, the Canadian trade union movement reflected two primary schools of trade union philosophy - the class collaboration philosophy and the class

conscious philosophy. The essential elements of these two opposing schools of trade union philosophy are not difficult to discern and were well documented in the proceedings and records of each organization. In broad terms, the major differences focused on: (a) the role of organized labor and its objectives, (b) the means or methods to be used in pursuit of its objectives and, as a corollary, (c) the structure to be adopted in order to effectively advance this role and method. The philosophy of international trade unionism was the philosophy of class collaboration. The philosophy of class consciousness trade unionism was diametrically opposed to the philosophy of the class collaboration. It was what class collaboration represented that class conscious trade unionism rejected.

CLC Philosophy. The philosophy of the present national center, the CLC, is quite different from that of either of the two components of merger - the TLC and CCL. However, there is more in CLC philosophy which is of the CCL heritage than the TLC heritage. Unlike earlier centers, it has devoted greater effort to internal issues and is deeply concerned about not only its own role, function and philosophy, but also the role, function, and philosophy of the Canadian trade union movement as a whole. It is in search of a structure and philosophy which is more complimentary to the contemporary economic and social scene.



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187. "CCL, TLC Make Joint Submission To Royal Commission," Steel Labor: Vol. 21, No. 4, April 1956. p. 4, and "United Labor Makes Plea For Nation's Future," Canadian Transport: Vol. 4, No. 12, February 20, 1956. p. 3.
188. "The Challenge To Government, Employers, Unions In CLC Program for Full Employment," Steel Labor: Vol. 23, No. 4, April 1958. p. 3.
189. "Union Brief Presented to Members of Cabinet," UE Canadian News: Vol. 25, No. 844, July 5, 1966. p. 1.
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APPENDIX A

SOURCES

I. LABOR PAPERS AND JOURNALS

<u>TITLE</u>	<u>PUBLISHER</u>	<u>DATES</u>	
		<u>FROM</u>	<u>TO</u>
<u>Group A - National Centers</u>			
1. Canadian Congress Journal	Trades and Labor Congress of Canada	Jan. 1935	Jan. 1944
2. Trades and Labor Congress Journal	Trades and Labor Congress of Canada	Feb. 1944	Dec. 1955
3. The Canadian Unionist	All-Canadian Congress of Labor	Jan. 1935	Aug. 1940
4. The Canadian Unionist	Canadian Congress of Labor	Sept. 1940	Mar. 1956
5. CCL Labor/Canadian Labor	Canadian Congress of Labor	Oct. 1949	Mar. 1956
6. CLC News	Canadian Labor Congress	Apr. 1956	Jul. 1958
7. Canadian Labor	Canadian Labor Congress	Apr. 1956	Dec. 1966
8. National Labor Journal	National Council of Canadian Labor	Oct. 1948	Dec. 1965
<u>Group B - International Unions</u>			
9. Canadian Chemical Worker	District Council 4, International Chemical Workers	Oct./Nov. 1948	Jan. 1958
10. Canadian International Chemical Workers	International Chemical Workers Union	Feb. 1947	Dec. 1963

11. Packinghouse Worker/The Canadian Packinghouse Worker	United Packinghouse Workers of America	Feb. 1952	Aug. 1966
12. Steel Labor (Canadian Edition)	Steel Workers Organizing Committee, CIO	Dec. 1935	Dec. 1965
13. UAW Solidarity (Canadian Edition)	Automobile, Aircraft and Agricultural Implement Workers of America	Jan. 1958	Jan. 1962
14. The United Automobile Worker	Automobile, Aircraft and Agricultural Implement Workers of America	Jan. 1949	Dec. 1957
15. Mine-Mill Herald	International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers	Nov. 1935	Dec. 1965

Group C - National Unions

16. The Canadian Railway Employees' Monthly	Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Employees	Jan. 1935	Dec. 1952
17. Canadian Transport	Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Employees and Other Transport Workers	Aug. 1953	Dec. 1966
18. Local 598 - Mine-Mill News	Canadian Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers	Aug. 1955	Nov. 1965
19. Journal	Canadian Union of Public Employees	Oct. 1964	Dec. 1966

Group D - District and Local Unions

20. Local 195 News	Windsor Local 195, Automobile, Aircraft and Agricultural Implement Workers of America	Feb. 1944	Jul. 1952
21. Congress News	Pacific Coast Section of Canadian Congress of Labor	Oct. 1937	Apr. 1942

22. Canadian Labor Herald	Vancouver Council of Canadian Federation of Labor	Oct. 1937	Apr. 1942
23. Steelworkers News	Galt Local of United Steel Workers of America	Mar. 1948	Jun. 1955
24. The B.C. Lumber Worker	B.C. District of Lumber Workers Industrial Union	Jan. 1935	Dec. 1965
25. Steel Shot	Local 1005 United Steel Workers of America	Sept. 1951	Dec. 1965
26. Warworker/Local 439 News	Local 439, Automobile, Aircraft, and Agricultural Implement Workers of America	Mar. 1944	Dec. 1955
27. Ford Facts	Local 200, Automobile, Aircraft, and Agriculture Implement Workers of America	Dec. 1942	Dec. 1964
28. UE Canadian News	District 5, United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America	Nov. 1944	Dec. 1965
29. Labor Statesman	Vancouver Trades and Labor Council	Jan. 1941	Dec. 1965
30. The Call	Calgary Trades and Labor Council	Mar. 1945	Mar. 1952
31. The Guardian	Locals 195, 200, 240, 989 Automobiles, Aircrafts, and Agricultural Workers of America	Aug. 1952	Sept. 1965
32. The Labor Digest	Hamilton and District Trades and Labor Council	Dec. 1942	Dec. 1953
33. The Hamilton Labor	Hamilton and District Labor Council (CLC)	Mar. 1957	Dec. 1957
<u>Group E - Unaffiliated</u>			
34. The Citizen	Independent Weekly Devoted to the Interest of All Workers, Halifax	Jan. 1935	Oct. 1950

Jan. 1935 Dec. 1955

Canada. Industrial Inquiry Commission. The Truth About Unions on the Lakes; A Summary of Findings of Year-Long Investigation Conducted by an Official Canadian Government Commission. Ottawa, 1963. 22 pp.

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APPENDIX B

ISSUES RAISED BEFORE TRADES AND LABOUR CONGRESS OF CANADA CONVENTIONS,  
1935-1955 INCLUSIVE

A. Internal Issues

1. Labor-Management Relations: includes terms and conditions of employment, right to organize, right to bargain collectively, right to strike, and right to picket.
  - a) Six hour day, five day week (2)
  - b) Abolition of Section 98 of the Criminal Code (1)
  - c) Annual holidays each year with pay (7)
  - d) Legalize the right to organize and to conduct collective bargaining (6)
  - e) Legalize picketing (4)
  - f) 30 hour week with pay for 44 hours (4)
  - g) Executive to draft bill based on Wagner Act (3)
  - h) Opposed to use of troops in labor disputes (2)
  - i) Urged introduction of boost of living bonus system (3)
  - j) Need for more labor-management cooperation and committees (1)
  - k) Faster decisions by Wartime Labour Board (1)
  - l) Acceptance of PC1003 as a minimum right to bargain (1)
  - m) No strike pledge for duration of war (1)
  - n) Collective bargaining for employees of the Crown (8)
  - o) Declaration re acceptable wages, hours, and working conditions (6)
  - p) Urged law against use of strike breakers (1)
  - q) Urged increased use of the Union Label (1)
  - r) Agreed to press for the guaranteed annual wage (3)
  - s) Called for law to protect legal strikes (1)
2. Labor and Political Action
  - a) Labor to be politically "independent" (6)
  - b) Requested release of interned trade unionists (1)
  - c) Urged organization of political action committees (2)
  - d) Urged greater role in political action by Congress (1)
  - e) Endorsed political action but reaffirmed the traditional non-partisan policy (1)
3. Internal Trade Union Affairs: includes structure of organized labor, government of organized labor, form of organization, and regulation of internal affairs.
  - a) Refused to expell industrial unions (3)
  - b) Expression in favor of international trade unionism (2)
  - c) Expelled unions supporting the C.I.O. (1)
  - d) Expressed need for labor unity (1)
  - e) Endorsed suspension of CB of RSC and lifted suspension (1)
  - f) Adopted declaration of independence from AFL (1)
  - g) Censored F.H. Hall for his action in the CSU affair (1)
  - h) Took stand against communists in unions and/or expelled communist lead unions (6)

- i) TLC not to be cooperative with other labor bodies such as the CCL (1)
- j) Rejected labor unity proposal with CCL (1)
- k) TLC takes definite steps towards labor unity (1)
- l) Entered no-raiding agreement with the CCL (1)
- m) Merger agreement with CCL approved (1)

4. Regulation of Employer Practices: includes regulation of prices and profits, and defense activities against unions.

- a) Urged that dividends be based on actual capital employed (2)
- b) Opposed to the amalgamation of railways (2)
- c) Declare "Yellow Dog Contracts" illegal (1)
- d) Abolish temporary injunctions and their use in labor disputes (5)
- e) Urged investigation of profiteering on war contracts (3)
- f) Urged introduction of a 100% excess profits tax (3)

B. External Issues

5. Social Welfare: includes pensions, unemployment insurance, family allowances, health insurance, education, and workmen's compensation.

- a) Urged changes in regulations governing workmen's compensation (5)
- b) Urged improvements in social security package (17)
- c) Urged compulsory automobile insurance (1)
- d) Free university education for poor (1)
- e) Declaration in favor of family allowances (1)
- f) Urged establishment of Federal Department of Education (1)
- g) Prohibit employment of children under 16 years (2)
- h) Declaration against racial or other forms of discrimination (3)
- i) Condemned private trade schools (1)
- j) Proposal re Canadian Bill of Rights (3)
- k) Urged increased federal aid to education (1)

6. Economic Policy: includes housing, international trade, banking and credit institutions, employment, nationalization of industry, income tax, and manpower development and utilization.

- a) Urged nationalization of banking and financial institutions (5)
- b) Urged national housing scheme and slum clearance (12)
- c) System for transporting labor from surplus to demand areas (2)
- d) Employment of Canadians on Canadian ships (1)
- e) Urged increase in money supply (1)
- f) Government supported house mortgages at low interest (1)
- g) Expressed concern over unemployment and urged a remedial program (5)
- h) Urged nationalization of production and distribution of the necessities of life (1)
- i) Urged the establishment of an Economic Advisory Board (1)
- j) Nationalization of the production of raw materials (1)
- k) Urged government to take over operation of union industries (1)

- l) Urged lowering of income taxes on low income groups (10)
  - m) Urged the establishment of a national apprenticeship program (1)
  - n) Urged the removal of house mortgages from banks and insurance companies (1)
  - o) Nationalization of "basic industries" (1)
  - p) Criticized the Cost of Living index, wage controls, and price control system (9)
  - q) Urged the control of immigration (7)
  - r) Urged the nationalization of public utilities (1)
  - s) Supported program of limited free trade (1)
7. Structure of Government: includes the constitution, parliament affairs, and decision making procedures.
- a) Amend BNA to strengthen the power of the Federal Government particularly in matters relating to labor (4)
  - b) Order in Councils to be reviewed by labor before enactment (1)
  - c) Urged increased labor representation on government boards (1)
  - d) Extend franchise to all those over 18 years (3)
8. Foreign Affairs
- a) Adopted resolution on Spanish crisis (1)
  - b) Expressed opposition to the war (2)
  - c) Offered cooperation to destroy Nazis and Fascists (3)
  - d) Expressed support for work of the United Nations and its activities throughout the world (4)
  - e) Urged no trade with the USSR (1)
  - f) Dropped disarmament from platform of principles (1)

Issues Raised Before All-Canadian Congress of Labour Conventions, 1935-1939  
Inclusive and Canadian Congress of Labour Conventions, 1940-1955 Inclusive

A. Internal Issues

1. Labor-Management Relations: includes terms and conditions of employment, right to organize, right to bargain collectively, right to strike, and right to picket.
  - a) Condemned conditions in the food and beverage industry (1)
  - b) Urged strict enforcement of Section 295 of the Railway Act (1)
  - c) Make conciliation boards available to municipal workers (1)
  - d) Pledged support to railway workers against wage cuts (2)
  - e) Legalize the right to organize and to conduct collective bargaining (13)
  - f) Annual holidays each year with pay (3)
  - g) Restore full rates of pay to civil servants (1)
  - h) Extend scope of IDI Act and enlarge conciliation services (1)
  - i) Executive to draft bill based on Wagner Act (1)
  - j) No strike pledge for duration of war (2)
  - k) Need for more labor-management cooperation and committees (1)
  - l) Expressed support for Packinghouse master agreements (1)
  - m) Collective bargaining for employees of the Crown (1)
  - n) Amend Criminal Code re. industrial disputes (1)
  - o) Advocated a National Labor Code to cover all workers (1)
  - p) Advocated an overhaul of conciliation procedures (2)
  - q) Urged increased use of the union label (1)
  - r) Criticized government action in railroad dispute (1)
2. Labor and Political Action
  - a) Endorsed the CCF as the political arm of labor in Canada (9)
  - b) Urged Congress to play greater role in political action (1)
  - c) Urged organization of political action committees (3)
3. Internal Trade Union Affairs: includes structure of organized labor, government or organized labor, form of organization, and regulation of internal affairs.
  - a) Called for closer cooperation with Catholic Federation of Workers (2)
  - b) Demanded that Canadian Unions be given the same recognition as international unions (1)
  - c) Affiliates are free to cooperate with other labor bodies (2)
  - d) Trade union structure to be national and industrial (3)
  - e) Issued call for labor unity (18)
  - f) Suggested a tax be placed on union funds leaving the country (1)
  - g) Platform and constitution of new congress approved (1)
  - h) To attempt closer ties with the TLC (1)
  - i) Declaration in support of WFTU and ILO (1)
  - j) Appeal of Mine-Mill from suspension defeated (1)

- k) Took stand against communists in unions and/or expelled communist lead unions (4)
- l) Called for the establishment of a national strike fund (2)
- m) Withdrew support for the WFTU (1)
- n) Took disciplinary action against the UEW and Mine-Mill for attacking Congress policy and officers (1)
- o) Proposed the establishment of a National Council of Labour (1)
- p) Upheld the executives expulsion of the fur and leather workers (1)
- q) Launched aggressive organization drive in Quebec (1)
- r) Launched effort to organize white-collar workers (1)
- s) Entered no-raiding agreement with the TLC (1)
- t) Merger agreement with the TLC approved (1)

4. Regulation of Employer Practices: includes regulation of prices and profits, and defense activities against unions.

- a) Opposed to the amalgamation of railways (4)
- b) Opposed to railway shops giving work to non-Canadian workers (1)
- c) Abolish temporary injunctions and their use in labor disputes (2)

B. External Issues

5. Social Welfare: includes pensions, unemployment insurance, family allowances, health insurance, education, and workmen's compensation.

- a) Extension of Employment and Social Insurance Act to all employed (1)
- b) Extension of Old Age Pensions to provinces where not in effect (1)
- c) Pensions for the blind (1)
- d) Old Age Pensions at age 60 or age 65 (3)
- e) Protested treatment of veteran pensioners (1)
- f) Urged the Provincial Governments to improve the minimum wage laws (1)
- g) Urged improvements in the social security package (14)
- h) Urged Federal Government to administer relief (1)
- i) Adopted a minimum wage of 50¢/hour and the 8 hour day (1)
- j) Protested introduction of family allowances (1)
- k) Urged changes in regulations governing workmen's compensation (1)
- l) Advocated improvements in educational system (1)
- m) Declaration against social or other forms of discrimination (1)
- n) Proposed a Canadian Bill of Rights (1)
- o) Urged free education at all levels (1)

6. Economic Policy: includes housing, international trade, banking and credit institutions, employment, nationalization of industry, income tax, and manpower development and utilization.

- a) Opposed to cities imposing tax on workers living elsewhere (1)
- b) Urged the government to launch public works programs (2)
- c) Urged release of relief camps from military control (1)
- d) Urged development of domestic interprovincial trade (1)
- e) Urged support of consumer and producer cooperatives (4)
- f) Urged the control of immigration (3)

- g) Urged government to take over operation of war industries (2)
- h) Urged national housing scheme and slum clearance (12)
- i) Government supported house mortgages at low interest (2)
- j) Adapt an economic system that will provide a decent livelihood for all (1)
- k) Expressed concern over unemployment and urged a remedial program (3)
- l) Condemned the Federal Government's wartime labor policy (1)
- m) Declaration on the wartime labor policy of Congress (1)
- n) Criticized the Cost of Living index, wage controls, and price control system (8)
- o) Urged lowering of income taxes on low income groups (6)
- p) Urged adoption of a national fuel policy (1)
- q) Expressed concern over post war reconversion (3)
- r) Urged extension of public ownership on all fronts (1)
- s) Urged more liberal immigration policy (1)
- t) Adopted resolution re. Canadian foreign trade (7)
- u) Adopted declaration on Economic Philosophy of the Congress (2)
- v) Called for Royal Commission on Immigration (3)
- w) Expressed concern over the impact of technological change and automation (1)

7. Structure of Government: includes the constitution, parliament affairs, and decision making procedures.

- a) ACCL to be consulted on appointment of labor representative on Social Insurance Commission (1)
- b) Amend BNA to strengthen the power of the Federal Government particularly in matters relating to labor (4)
- c) Abolition of the Senate (1)
- d) Order in Councils to be reviewed by labor before enactment (1)
- e) Urged increased labor representation on government boards (2)

8. Foreign Affairs:

- a) Expressed opposition to the war (1)
- b) Expressed full support for the work of the League of Nations (2)
- c) Demanded an embargo on war materials to unfriendly nations (1)
- d) Offered cooperation to destroy Nazis and Fascists ( 5)
- e) Resolved to study operation of 5th columnists in Canada (1)
- f) Adopted resolution on Spanish Crisis (1)
- g) Expressed strong position on Canadian foreign policy (6)
- h) Supported reconstruction program in Europe (1)
- i) Expressed support for work of the United Nations and its activities throughout the world (2)
- j) Resolution against Communist and Capitalist imperialism (1)
- k) Urged government to recognize Israel (1)

Issues Raised Before Canadian Labour Congress Conventions, 1956-1966 Inclusive

A. Internal Issues

1. Labor-Management Relations: includes terms and conditions of employment, right to organize, right to bargain collectively, right to strike, and right to picket.
  - a) Legalize picketing (1)
  - b) Collective bargaining for employees of the Crown (1)
  - c) Declaration re. acceptable wages, hours, and working conditions (1)
  - d) Called for law to protect legal strikes (1)
  - e) Opposed to CNTU proposals for changes in CLRB procedures (1)
  - f) Endorsed Friedman Report (1)
2. Labor and Political Action
  - a) Endorsed political education and discussion of closer relations with political parties (1)
  - b) Endorsed formation of a new political party (1)
  - c) Approved new political party (1)
  - d) Called on labor to support NDP (3)
3. Internal Trade Union Affairs: includes structure of organized labor, government of organized labor, form of organization, and regulation of internal affairs.
  - a) Expelled two unions for raiding (2)
  - b) Issued call for labor unity (2)
  - c) Launched effort to organize white-collar workers (2)
  - d) To continue effort to unite with CCL (1)
  - e) Launched study to develop procedure to deal with jurisdictional disputes (1)
  - f) Refused to re-admit the SIU (1)
  - g) Readmitted the SIU (1)
4. Regulation of Employer Practices includes: regulation of prices and profits, and defense activities against unions.
  - a) Abolish temporary injunctions and their use in labor disputes (1)

B. External Issues

5. Social Welfare: includes pensions, unemployment insurance, family allowances, health insurance, education, and workmen's compensation.
  - a) Urged improvement in social security package (4)
  - b) Declaration against racial discrimination (1)

- c) Proposed a Canadian Bill of Rights (1)
- d) Urged increased federal aid to education (1)
- e) Urged free education at all levels (2)

6. Economic Policy: includes housing, international trade, banking and credit institutions, employment, nationalization of industry, income tax, and manpower development and utilization.

- a) Urged national housing scheme and slum clearance (2)
- b) Expressed concern over unemployment and urged a remedial program (3)
- c) Urged lowering of income taxes on low income groups (1)
- d) Urged the control of immigration (2)
- e) Expressed concern over the impact of automation and technological change (3)
- f) Rejected governments plea for wage restraint (1)

7. Structure of Government: includes the constitution, parliament affairs, and decision making procedures.

8. Foreign Affairs

- a) Expressed support for the work of the United Nations and its activities throughout the world (1)

APPENDIX C

PLATFORM OF PRINCIPLES - CLC, 1956

The final act of the convention, performed immediately before adjournment at 6:00 p.m. Friday, April 27, was the unanimous adoption of a Platform of Principles. The full text follows:

1. Full employment, at the highest possible standard of living.
2. Amendments to the British North America Act to make possible uniform labour and social legislation throughout Canada.
3. A National Labour Relations Act covering all workers, whether employed by Governments or by private industry, and providing for union security and the checkoff.
4. Abolition of child labour.
5. Equal pay for equal work for men and women.
6. A national legal minimum wage of \$1 an hour.
7. A national Forty Hour Week Act.
8. A national Fair Wage Act providing for union wages and conditions in all Government work and services and on all Government contracts, direct and indirect.
9. A national Vacation and Holiday Act, providing for a minimum of two weeks' vacation with pay and a minimum of eight statutory holidays.
10. Prohibition of injunctions in labour disputes.
11. A comprehensive national social security system, with adequate benefits, covering unemployment insurance, family allowances, old age pensions at 65 for men and 60 for women without means test, industrial pensions, health insurance with sickness cash benefits, mothers' and widows' allowances.
12. A Dominion-provincial public assistance system to cover those not covered by social insurance.
13. Public ownership of public utilities.
14. Nationalization of banking and credit.
15. Maintenance of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation to control all radio and television and to operate the main stations and all the networks.

16. Adequate representation for Labour on all Government Boards and Commissions dealing with Labour's interests, and Labour representation on the Boards of all public enterprises.
17. Full support for producers' and consumers' co-operatives and credit unions.
18. Taxation based on ability to pay; higher taxes on big incomes, higher exemptions for small incomes, higher corporation taxes and succession duties, abolition of the sales tax.
19. Full support of co-operative, limited dividend and subsidized low-rental housing; low down payments, low interest rates and long amortization for owned homes; slum clearance.
20. Planned immigration for full employment and a higher standard of living with an Immigration Advisory Committee of representatives of Labour, management, welfare and Government to keep the Immigration Act, regulations, policy and administration under constant review and recommend necessary changes.
21. Conservation and development of natural resources for the benefit of the people, with the fullest possible processing of raw materials in Canada.
22. Maximum international trade, with proper protection for Canadian living standards.
23. National control of air transportation and all forms of long-haul land transportation; reservation of coastal and inter-coastal trade for Canadian vessels, Canadian built; an adequate merchant fleet.
24. Abolition of all non-elected legislative bodies; universal suffrage in national, provincial and municipal elections; representation by population, to end the present under-representation of urban workers; advance polls for those unable to be home on election day; voting facilities for the sick and disabled.
25. Amendment of the British North America Act to add to the Constitution a Bill of Rights prohibiting discrimination on grounds of race, colour or creed, and guaranteeing freedom of worship, freedom of speech, freedom of the press and other means of communication, freedom of assembly, freedom of association and organization, freedom from arbitrary arrest, and other civil liberties.
26. Free compulsory education, with full provincial autonomy, but with national aid for all grades from primary school to university, and a system of national scholarships and bursaries.
27. Full support of the United Nations, the International Labour Organization, the World Health Organization, the Food and Agriculture Organization and similar international bodies, and for the Colombo Plan, U.N. Technical Assistance, a Special United Nations Fund for World Economic Development and similar efforts to raise living standards and preserve and strengthen peace.

28. Full support of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and its Regional Organizations.
29. Unrelenting opposition to all forms of totalitarianism.



APPENDIX D

THE NUMBER OF ARTICLES, COLUMN INCHES AND PERCENT OF EFFORT DEVOTED TO INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL ISSUES BY THE CANADIAN BROTHERHOOD OF RAILWAY EMPLOYEES JOURNAL, 1935 - 1952, AND CANADIAN TRANSPORT JOURNAL, 1953 - 1966.

	Number of Articles		Total Column Inches	
	Number of Articles	Percent Analysis	Total Column Inches	Percent Analysis
	No.	%	No.	%
<u>A. Internal Issues.</u>				
1. Labor-Management Relations	275	17.1	4221	19.3
2. Labor and Political Action	164	10.1	2120	9.7
3. Internal Trade Union Affairs	555	34.5	7783	35.5
4. Regulation of Employers	27 1021	1.7 63.4	394 14518	1.8 66.3
<u>B. External Issues.</u>				
5. Social Welfare	81	5.0	1147	5.2
6. Economic Policy	426	26.5	5245	23.9
7. Structure of Government	14	.9	360	1.6
8. Foreign Affairs	68 589	4.2 36.6	633 7385	2.9 33.6
Totals	1610 1610	100.0 100.0	21903 21903	99.9 99.9

THE NUMBER OF ARTICLES, TOTAL COLUMN INCHES AND PERCENT OF EFFORT DEVOTED  
TO INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL ISSUES BY C.U.P.E. JOURNAL 1964 to 1966.

	Number of Articles		Total Column Inches	
	Number of Articles	Percent Analysis	Total Column Inches	Percent Analysis
	No.	%	No.	%
<u>A. Internal Issues.</u>				
1. Labor-Management Relations	18	56.3	374	64.6
2. Labor and Political Action	2	6.3	15	2.6
3. Internal Trade Union Affairs	6	18.8	69	11.9
4. Regulation of Employer Practices	0 26	0 81.4	0 458	0 79.1
<u>B. External Issues.</u>				
5. Social Welfare	1	3.1	36	6.2
6. Economic Policy	5	15.5	85	14.7
7. Structure of Government	0	0	0	0
8. Foreign Affairs	0 6	0 18.6	0 121	0 20.9
Totals	32 32	100.0 100.0	579 579	100.0 100.0

THE NUMBER OF ARTICLES, TOTAL COLUMN INCHES AND PERCENT OF EFFORT DEVOTED TO INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL ISSUES BY THE CANADIAN CHEMICAL WORKER - NOVEMBER 1947 TO JANUARY 1958; THE CANADIAN INTERNATIONAL CHEMICAL WORKER - FEBRUARY 1947 TO DECEMBER 1963.

	Number of Articles		Total Column Inches	
	Number of Articles	Percent Analysis	Total Column Inches	Percent Analysis
	No.	%	No.	%
<u>A. Internal Issues.</u>				
1. Labor-Management Relations	4	23.5	25	12.5
2. Labor and Political Action	1	5.9	7	3.5
3. Internal Trade Union Affairs	9	52.9	125	62.5
4. Regulation of Employers	0 14	0 82.3	0 157	0 78.5
<u>B. External Issues</u>				
5. Social Welfare	2	11.8	29	14.5
6. Economic Policy	1	5.9	14	7.0
7. Structure of Government	0	0	0	0
8. Foreign Affairs	0 3	0 17.7	0 43	0 21.5
Totals	17 17	100.0 100.0	200 200	100.0 100.0

THE NUMBER OF ARTICLES, TOTAL COLUMN INCHES AND PERCENT OF EFFORT DEVOTED TO INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL ISSUES, MINE-MILL HERALS AND LOCAL 598 NEWS, 1955 - 1965.

	Number of Articles		Column Inches	
	Number of Articles	Percent Analysis	Total Column Inches	Percent Analysis
	No.	%	No.	%
<u>A. Internal Issues.</u>				
1. Labor-Management Relations	10	85	127	9.8
2. Labor and Political Action	3	2.7	31	2.4
3. Internal Trade Union Affairs	84	75.0	1031	79.2
4. Regulation of Employers	0 97	0 86.6	0 1189	0 91.4
<u>B. External Issues.</u>				
5. Social Welfare	6	5.4	28	2.2
6. Economic Policy	8	7.1	77	5.9
7. Structure of Government	0	0	0	0
8. Foreign Affairs	1 15	.9 13.4	6 111	.5 8.6
Totals	112 112	100.0 100.0	1300 1300	100.0 100.0

THE NUMBER OF ARTICLES, COLUMN INCHES AND PERCENT OF EFFORT DEVOTED TO  
INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL ISSUES BY U.E.W. NEWS, 1945 to 1964.

	Number of Articles		Total Column Inches	
	Number of Articles	Percent Analysis	Total Column Inches	Percent Analysis
	No.	%	No.	%
<u>A. Internal Issues.</u>				
1. Labor-Management Relations	114	24.7	1223	23.6
2. Labor and Political Action	28	6.1	267	5.1
3. Internal Trade Union Affairs	115	24.9	1321	25.4
4. Regulation of Employers	0 257	0 55.7	0 2811	0 54.1
<u>B. External Issues.</u>				
5. Social Welfare	25	5.5	236	4.6
6. Economic Policy	164	35.5	2017	38.9
7. Structure of Government	0	0	0	0
8. Foreign Affairs	15 204	3.3 44.3	127 2380	2.4 45.9
Totals	461 461	100.0 100.0	5191 5191	100.0 100.0

THE NUMBER OF ARTICLES, COLUMN INCHES AND PERCENT OF EFFORT DEVOTED TO  
INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL ISSUES BY ALL ARTICLES IN THE CANADIAN PACKINGHOUSE  
WORKER, 1952 - 1964.

	Number of Articles				Total Column Inches			
	Number of Articles		Percent Analysis		Total Column Inches		Percent Analysis	
	No.		%		No.		%	
<u>A. Internal Issues.</u>								
1. Labor-Management Relations	11		15.5		200		24.6	
2. Labor and Politican Action	11		15.5		92		11.3	
3. Internal Trade Union Affairs	8		11.3		127		15.6	
4. Regulation of Employers	0	30	0	42.3	0	419	0	51.5
<u>B. External Issues.</u>								
5. Social Welfare	7		9.9		59		7.3	
6. Economic Policy	31		43.7		327		40.3	
7. Government Structure	1		1.4		4		.5	
8. Foreign Affairs	2	41	2.8	57.8	3	393	.4	48.5
Totals	71	71	100.1	100.1	812	812	100.0	100.0

THE NUMBER OF ARTICLES, TOTAL COLUMN INCHES AND PERCENT OF EFFORT DEVOTED TO INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL ISSUES BY STEELWORKER'S NEWS - MARCH 1948 TO JUNE 1955; STEEL LABOR - DECEMBER 1935 TO DECEMBER 1965; STEEL SHOTS - SEPTEMBER 1951 TO DECEMBER 1965; INFORMATION U.S.A., MAY 1953 TO 1965.

	Number of Articles		Total Column Inches	
	Number of Articles	Percent Analysis	Number of Articles	Percent Analysis
	No.	%	No.	%
<u>A. Internal Issues.</u>				
1. Labor-Management Relations	77	28.6	2135	30.0
2. Labor and Political Action	17	6.3	422	5.9
3. Internal Trade Union Affairs	79	29.4	1870	26.3
4. Regulation of Employers	0 173	0 64.3	0 4427	0 62.2
<u>B. External Issues.</u>				
5. Social Welfare	15	5.6	450	6.3
6. Economic Policy	79	29.4	2186	30.7
7. Structure of Government	1	.35	44	.6
8. Foreign Affairs	1 96	.35 35.7	8 2688	.1 37.7
Totals	269 269	100.0 100.0	7115 7115	99.9 99.9

THE NUMBER OF ARTICLES, TOTAL COLUMN INCHES AND PERCENT OF EFFORT DEVOTED  
TO INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL ISSUES BY UNION JOURNALS OF THE U.A.W. 1942 - 1964.

	Number of Articles		Total Column Inches	
	Number of Articles	Percent Analysis	Total Column Inches	Percent Analysis
	No.	%	No.	%
<u>A. Internal Issues.</u>				
1. Labor-Management Relations	93	28.4	1075	28.3
2. Labor and Political Action	53	16.2	556	14.6
3. Internal Trade Union Affairs	67	20.4	784	20.6
4. Regulation of Employers	0 213	0 65.0	0 2415	0 63.5
<u>B. External Issues.</u>				
5. Social Welfare	19	5.8	160	4.2
6. Economic Policy	92	28.0	1153	30.3
7. Structure of Government	0	0	0	0
8. Foreign Affairs	4 115	1.2 35.0	76 1389	2.0 36.5
Totals	328 328	100.0 100.0	3804 3804	100.0 100.0

APPENDIX E

ISSUES RAISED IN DOCUMENTS PUBLISHED BY THE CANADIAN BROTHERHOOD OF RAILWAY EMPLOYEES.

A. Internal Issues

1. Labor Management Relations: includes terms and conditions of employment, right to organize, right to bargain collectively, right to strike, and right to picket.

	Subject	Frequency of Occurrence	Total Column Inches
1.	Demanded Holidays with pay.	8	146
2.	Demanded improved wages, working conditions (including holidays with pay), shorter work week.	63	783
3.	Expressed strong opposition to compulsory arbitration.	12	404
4.	Demanded the right to union security; union shop, the check-off.	12	190
5.	Endorsed the concept of labor management committees, urged labor management co-operation - a partner with management.	52	561
6.	Statement on strikes, their causes and occurrences.	37	542
7.	Statement on the right to bargain collectively and the problems thereof.	15	190
8.	Demanded recognition of the right to organize.	12	111
9.	Reaction to conciliation policy and the use and re- sults of conciliation Boards in railway disputes.	12	434
10.	Anti-strike laws impractical.	2	37
11.	Unions blamed for railway problems.	1	8
12.	Railways are to blame for problems of railway works.	1	10

	Subject	Frequency of Occurrence	Total Column Inches
13.	Stated that arbitration cannot work.	4	31
14.	Brotherhood felt that voluntary arbitration was compulsory.	1	17
15.	Freedman Report - the rights of management - labor's Magna Carta.	6	72
16.	Opposition to wage freezing or wage crystallization.	2	55
17.	Statement on PC 1003 - employer-employee relations.	1	68
18.	Reviewed history of industrial relations.	1	17
19.	Labor management relations during wartime.	1	20
20.	Opposed use of court injunctions.	6	56
21.	Urged government action to protect railway workers.	1	7
22.	Viewed government role in labor management relations as that of a mediator.	1	16
23.	Safety first.	1	5
24.	Agreement shatters tradition.	1	8
25.	Success through negotiations.	2	22
26.	Railways experience that long negotiations lead to government decision and workers are forced back to work.	1	16
27.	Railway unions had no alternative but arbitration.	1	17
28.	Distinction made between "rights of unions" and "rights of management".	1	23
29.	Financial report of railways.	1	7
30.	Power of unions to resist.	1	11
31.	Transport report.	1	8
32.	Opposed delays in grievances.	1	6

	Subject	Frequency of Occurrence	Total Column Inches
33.	Difficult times ahead for labor.	2	13
34.	Restriction of labor by PC 7307 which virtually outlawed strikes.	1	17
35.	Opposed Quebec no-strike law.	1	7
36.	Newspaper coverage of union demands discriminatory against the union.	1	7
37.	Opposed to contracting out work.	1	30
38.	Attempted to prevent large scale staff reductions by C.N.R.	1	6
39.	Opposed "right-to-scab" campaign.	1	60
40.	Stated that shorter work week may stop moonlighting and increase employment.	1	76
41.	Urged management co-operation to crush corrupt unions.	1	18
42.	Viewed anti-labor laws that hamstring unions.	1	18
43.	Railway unions must find alternative weapon to replace strike.	1	42
44.	Successful bid for cost of living bonus.	1	29
	Totals	275	4221

## 2. Labor and Political Action

	Subject	Frequency of Occurrence	Total Column Inches
1.	Endorsed CCF Party platform and policies.	47	591

	Subject	Frequency of Occurrence	Total Column Inches
2.	Viewed Saskatchewan CCF with respect to labor legislation.	3	117
3.	Members should have political unit and support political party.	7	70
4.	Role of labor in political action.	5	62
5.	Review of labor legislation, labor policy and the labor code - opposed wage control order - Federal and Provincial context.	20	257
6.	Labor needs strong voice in government.	7	126
7.	Strong stand against PC 9384.	1	17
8.	Brotherhood role in elections - obligation in electing parliament.	4	31
9.	A review of all Political Parties.	4	123
10.	Alberta's Social Credit.	3	13
11.	Role of government in labor management relations (neutral).	2	19
12.	Court exposes SIU.	3	22
13.	Charges the Liberal Government with complacency and being a big business party.	4	52
14.	Viewed PC 7440 (Conciliation of wage rates). Declared not sufficiently clear to remove differences of opinion.	3	75
15.	Objectives of Canadian Labor movement presented to government.	4	25
16.	Labor endorsed Norris Report.	3	28
17.	Reviewed the Industrial Disputes Act.	1	2
18.	Urged representation of National labor movement on Government Commission.	1	8
19.	Reviewed hearings of the Special Railway Committee in the Senate.	2	44

	Subject	Frequency of Occurrence	Total Column Inches
20.	The National Labor Supply Council.	1	19
21.	Viewed PC 2685 on labor management relations.	1	22
22.	Opposed Bill 93 which would make a strike or picket a criminal offence.	1	16
23.	Opposed anti-labor Acts in Quebec.	1	19
24.	Problems with strike vote legislation.	1	6
25.	Presidents' views of the various levels of government.	1	13
26.	Pleased that new Conservative Government opposed to compulsory arbitration.	1	25
27.	Opposed to P.E.I. Act.	1	18
28.	Favored powerful trusteeship to clean up the seaway.	1	26
29.	Indicated the occurrence of adverse reaction if labor supports M.P. whereas business support of M.P. is acceptable.	1	44
30.	Parliamentary crisis - opposition to the conscription of manpower	1	8
31.	Passing of National labor Act in U.S. unions protected.	1	11
32.	Viewed the New Reconstruction Party.	1	4
33.	Government relief based on poor assumptions.	1	5
34.	Urged government to place transport carriers on equal ground.	1	5
35.	Endorsed democratic form of government.	1	9
36.	New political alignment.	1	6
37.	Commonwealth labor party.	1	7
38.	House of Commons debate on contract labor.	1	16

	Subject	Frequency of Occurrence	Total Column Inches
39.	Gordon Royal Commission.	2	16
40.	Premier Smallwood's actions towards the Woodworkers.	1	6
41.	A new labor party.	1	6
42.	Organized labor and the Department of Labor.	1	8
43.	Anti-labor legislation opposed.	1	10
44.	Royal Commission on price spreads.	1	8
45.	Diefenbaker freezes wages but not cost of living.	1	7
46.	No workers present at Liberal rally.	1	6
47.	B.C. mocks democracy.	1	5
48.	Public trusteeship over Maritime unions.	1	16
49.	Transport Bill disappointing.	1	8
50.	The rights of railway workers.	1	6
51.	The Freedman Inquiry.	1	6
52.	The strike-breakers - Court officials.	2	14
53.	Government increase taxes for social welfare - workers pay.	1	6
54.	Liberals Labor record very poor.	1	6
55.	C.P.R.'s probe long overdue.	1	6
56.	Royal Commission on Labor long overdue.	1	9
57.	Big task ahead for the task force.	1	10
	Totals	164	2120

3. Internal Trade Union Affairs: includes structure of organized labor, government of organized labor, form of organization, and regulation of internal affairs.

	Subject	Frequency of Occurrence	Total Column Inches
1.	Workers need organization, benefits, value of, obligations to - spirit of unity - offers workers voice, economic security, better working conditions (nned growth in membership).	166	1887
2.	The principles upon which the CBRE is organized and has developed (Convention).	65	1087
3.	Craft - industrial conflict on the railways (CBRE versus BRC).	19	410
4.	Craft versus industrial unionism.	44	724
5.	Brotherhood objectives of national industrial union and progress of the Brotherhood toward this and other objectives.	25	414
6.	Role of Brotherhood and support required in the national centers.	32	513
7.	Review of grievance procedure.	3	69
8.	Desired to be free from U.S. and other influence.	11	98
9.	Indicated success of CBRE on the T and N.O. Railway.	1	23
10.	Merger of TLC and CCL.	1	7
11.	Brotherhood is a strong organization built on the growing labor movement - gathered strength and acceptability - will have to change with the future.	21	493
12.	Work of the Brotherhood and its members.	9	100
13.	Supported concept of union label.	2	5
14.	Need better public opinion and status.	6	22
15.	Reviewed role of the Brotherhood in labor unity.	16	197
16.	Importancè and availability of labor and union leader-ship.	12	182

	Subject	Frequency of Occurrence	Total Column Inches
17.	Benefits and obligations to serve in elected office of Brotherhood.	3	32
18.	Support concept of co-operatives.	2	8
19.	Reviewed CLC and political action.	5	61
20.	Favored merging of large unions.	2	16
21.	Unions are people - strength and weaknesses of the Brotherhood (apathy).	7	109
22.	Reviewed jurisdictional disputes - raiding (CLC versus CNTU).	9	73
23.	Merger of AFL - CIO.	1	17
24.	Future role of the Brotherhood - maintain growth and strength - need extensive programs.	25	214
25.	Labor unions support the democratic principle.	1	8
26.	Joint Protective Committee.	3	23
27.	Brotherhood reveals need for expanding revenue.	1	10
28.	Brotherhood finances.	3	27
29.	Job security fund required.	1	6
30.	Planning required by labor.	1	6
31.	Advocated wage parity within labor movement.	1	8
32.	President of Brotherhood and the Wartime Labor Relations Board.	1	5
33.	Urged close relationship of the union and the family.	1	6
34.	Urged development of unionshop concept.	1	10
35.	Stated that labor has an obligation to the public.	1	8
36.	Supported concept of a National Labor Council for Canada.	1	18

	Subject	Frequency of Occurrence	Total Column Inches
37.	Indicated the existence of adverse public opinion to organized labor.	3	45
38.	Reviewed the right to organize.	1	7
39.	Looked at the new magazine - Canadian Transport.	2	18
40.	Brotherhood urged more social and economic welfare.	5	47
41.	Problems with the SIU.	6	50
42.	Brotherhood has become an institution guided by its certainty of purpose.	3	24
43.	Proposed program for action.	1	11
44.	Supported the establishment of Adjustment Committees and Boards.	1	12
45.	Labor opposed to communism.	1	17
46.	The silent man speaks (the Canadian).	1	35
47.	Joint Protection Committee.	1	46
48.	Indicated how unions can avoid the rackets and illegal union tactics.	4	103
49.	Indicated forms of anti-unionism.	2	40
50.	Viewed the usefulness of credit unions.	1	4
51.	Stated that there are definite patterns of discrimination against Canadian unions.	1	5
52.	Brotherhood vote on strike action.	1	10
53.	The meaning of Labor Day.	1	7
54.	The Brotherhood constitution.	1	17
55.	Viewed constitutional amendments as progress.	1	5
56.	Supported the concept of co-operative arrangements between labor groups.	1	17

	Subject	Frequency of Occurrence	Total Column Inches
57.	Compared labor organization in Canada with that of Britain and Europe.	1	28
58.	Opposed the attacks on labor organizations which are made through the newspapers and other media.	1	20
59.	Stated that unions are responsible organizations.	2	30
60.	Other views of organized labor.	1	22
61.	B.C. labor supports Brotherhood.	1	18
62.	SIU expelled by CLC.	1	26
63.	Brotherhood hearings before Federal Labor Board.	1	24
64.	Indicated the meaning of a company union.	1	12
65.	Report on labor Relations in Canada.	2	105
66.	Labor takes to the air - radio.	1	25
67.	Indicated what ILO has done for Canada.	1	35
68.	World Trade Union Conference	1	22
	Totals	555	7783

4. Regulation of Employer Practices: includes regulation of prices and profits, and defense activities against the unions.

	Subject	Frequency of Occurrence	Total Column Inches
1.	Voiced strong opposition to railway amalgamation.	24	259
2.	Offsetting amalgamation propaganda.	2	98

	Subject	Frequency of Occurrence	Total Column Inches
3.	Amalgamation discussed in the Senate.	1	37
	Totals	27	394

B. External Issues

5. Social Welfare: includes pensions, unemployment insurance, family allowances, health insurance, education, and workmen's compensation.

	Subject	Frequency of Occurrence	Total Column Inches
1.	Supported the expanded need for education.	14	263
2.	Urged further development of the concept of unemployment insurance.	6	43
3.	Recommended remedial action for poverty.	1	21
4.	Promoted industrial health.	1	7
5.	Supported Federal Health services.	16	200
6.	Supported Canada Pension Plan.	8	169
7.	Pensions for blind.	1	4
8.	Canadians turn to social medicine.	3	35
9.	Supported concept of national health insurance.	1	8
10.	Labor desires both Canada and Private Pension Plans.	2	12
11.	Urged labor to seek more social security.	7	39
12.	Opposed racial and religious prejudices.	7	137
13.	Favored workmen's compensation.	1	7

	Subject	Frequency of Occurrence	Total Column Inches
14.	Urged protection for pensions.	1	6
15.	Stated that welfare plans are essential.	1	8
16.	Health is a national asset - high cost of illness.	3	54
17.	Social insurance would protect worker against economic insecurity.	3	59
18.	Supported charitable campaigns and community welfare organization.	3	28
19.	Saskatchewan leads in social benefits.	1	9
20.	Advocated welfare is social responsibility of community.	1	38
	Totals	81	1147

6. Economic Policy: includes housing, international trade, banking and credit institutions, employment, nationalization of industry, income tax, and manpower development and utilization.

	Subject	Frequency of Occurrence	Total Column Inches
1.	Urged changes in the economic system which will prevent the recurrence of depressions - advocated economic planning and reconstruction - lessons to be learned from unified war effort.	76	832
2.	Employment - declared the need of a government policy to avoid unemployment - urged remedial action.	44	489
3.	Advocated adult education in the development of manpower.	43	674
4.	Effect of automation on employment.	10	155
5.	Urged more action in housing field.	16	164

	Subject	Frequency of Occurrence	Total Column Inches
6.	Attacked concentration of wealth.	6	84
7.	Favored public ownership of transportation and natural resources.	13	172
8.	Urged regulation of all sectors of the transport industry.	4	58
9.	Reviewed the freight rate structure and its relation to railway finance.	6	75
10.	Demanded the abolishment of economic insecurity more economic and social order.	10	128
11.	Urged remedial action for inflation - use in cost of living - fall in purchasing power of dollar.	21	273
12.	Recreation and leisure for a fuller life.	5	110
13.	Role of labor in the war effort - labor and railways role in victory.	19	187
14.	The role of victory bonds.	3	27
15.	Transportation system and distribution in Canada.	16	131
16.	Economic causes of war (economic waste).	3	40
17.	National unions support national unity.	2	60
18.	Capitalistic system.	3	25
19.	Union responsibility within the community.	3	111
20.	Proposed an Act for the continuation of the operation of the railways.	1	10
21.	Proposed railway act to protect members against technological change.	1	21
22.	Supported formation of Joint Labor-Management-Government Councils to "beef up" war production.	1	21
23.	The challenge of peace.	1	7
24.	Value of Canadian citizenship.	4	45

	Subject	Frequency of Occurrence	Total Column Inches
25.	Immigration policy.	5	61
26.	Analyzed democracy's eight point program.	2	34
27.	Urged adoption of labor's plan for production.	1	18
28.	Reviewed aspects of selective service.	2	39
29.	Democracy.	3	22
30.	Role of railways in national economy (problems with the railways).	5	44
31.	Canada-U.S. agreement on the St. Lawrence Seaway.	1	7
32.	Reviewed the standard value medium of exchange.	1	9
33.	Poverty is no longer inevitable.	3	20
34.	Brotherhood has important role in serving the public.	1	5
35.	Stated that we should, and must, learn from the war.	1	7
36.	Is free enterprize imperilled? If not, it ought to be.	1	7
37.	Freedoms fought for in war effort.	1	8
38.	Foreign and domestic policy should reflect the will of the people.	2	28
39.	Should look after economic interests of those at war.	1	9
40.	Racial tolerance should be practiced throughout democratic system.	4	39
41.	Reviewed the labor market.	2	10
42.	Relief camp workers.	1	4
43.	Reviewed the construction industry.	1	4
44.	Reviewed the relationship of the Churchill with labor.	1	33
45.	Urged the retardation of the growth of monopolies.	2	48

	Subject	Frequency of Occurrence	Total Column Inches
46.	Urged labor participation in the development of co-operatives.	5	141
47.	Need of institutions for the common man.	1	31
48.	Stated that many Canadians prefer labor to big business.	1	7
49.	Socially owned projects of Saskatchewan's CCF.	1	15
50.	Reviewed favorable labor legislation adopted in Britain.	2	25
51.	Endorsed charitable purposes and fund raising.	3	45
52.	Safety of worker in the workplace.	1	14
53.	Co-operation, not competition, the life blood of democracy.	1	20
54.	Emigration, Canada cannot afford to lose the manpower.	1	13
55.	Statement on price fixing and the public.	1	13
56.	Must assist veterans returning home.	2	13
57.	Encouraged development of tourism.	4	21
58.	Urged workers to do a good job.	1	6
59.	Stated that individual is important.	1	7
60.	Brotherhood has important role in transportation.	2	11
61.	Reviewed the National Capital Plan for Ottawa.	1	9
62.	The Maritimes.	1	10
63.	Parliament, Policies, People.	1	10
64.	The industrial revolution and labor.	1	12
65.	The Free Press.	1	10
66.	The Gordon Commission on Economic Prospects.	1	11

	Subject	Frequency of Occurrence	Total Column Inches
67.	Newspapers favor management.	1	6
68.	Wages lag behind profits.	2	14
69.	Quebec demands equal rights.	1	6
70.	Does price fixing pay?	2	12
71.	Reviewed the concept of competition.	1	12
72.	Reviewed taxation structure.	3	13
73.	The concept of democracy.	1	12
74.	Urged the development of a National Food Policy.	1	2
75.	Urged the development of a National Fuel Policy.	1	1
76.	Population distribution - effects on economy.	2	5
77.	Study the location of industry.	1	9
78.	Role of Federal Provincial finance.	1	3
79.	Opposed foreign control of industry.	3	12
80.	Reviewed domestic and external markets.	2	8
81.	Consumer interests are often ignored.	1	5
82.	Urged retirement of workers at age 60.	1	4
83.	Studied the workings of amalgamation.	1	3
84.	Doctors strike in Saskatchewan - The government did not prevent this strike whereas the government did intervene in railway disputes.	1	26
85.	Reviewed the fact that Canadians spend \$180 millions on gift per year (1953).	1	14
86.	Stated that high interest rates and recession contribute to the national deficit.	1	24
87.	Stated that 1/3 of labor force is too poor to pay taxes.	1	50

	Subject	Frequency of Occurrence	Total Column Inches
88.	Reviewed the cost of government.	1	5
89.	Reviewed price spread study.	1	31
90.	Stated that supermarkets of the self serve variety put workers out of jobs.	1	26
91.	Urged government to relax tight money and adopt free trade policy.	1	18
92.	Reacted adversely to parliament freezing wages.	2	32
93.	Brotherhood challenged the Royal Commission on Transportation to find solution to the railway problem.	1	59
94.	Labor supports co-operatives.	1	8
95.	Labor rejects profiteering.	1	6
96.	Labor encourages price efficiency.	1	5
97.	Labor favors the development of the Economic Council of Canada.	1	8
98.	Labor opposed to foreign ownership.	1	7
	Totals	426	5245

7. Structure of Government: includes the constitution, parliament affairs, and decision making procedure.

	Subject	Frequency of Occurrence	Total Column Inches
1.	Reviewed labor's reaction to the B.N.A. Act.	1	35
2.	Problem of Provincial Federal jurisdiction in certain labor matters.	1	46

	Subject	Frequency of Occurrence	Total Column Inches
3.	Study of state intervention in labor disputes.	3	179
4.	CLC charged government with violation of the Unemployment Insurance Act - government selected a Commissioner without consultation with organized labor.	1	23
5.	Proposed amending the B.N.A. to facilitate social and economic reform.	1	5
6.	Proposal of National Transport Policy.	1	10
7.	Urged that changes be made in the Canadian Constitution.	1	6
8.	Powers of the Supreme Court of Canada.	1	6
9.	Federal powers for social and labor legislation.	1	2
10.	Proposed abolition of the Senate.	1	2
11.	Reviewed the merging of several Federal Departments.	1	18
12.	Studied early labor legislation in Canada.	1	28
	Totals	14	360

# 8. Foreign Affairs

	Subject	Frequency of Occurrence	Total Column Inches
1.	Supported the League of Nations.	2	11
2.	Stated that the British Empire was a symbol of unity.	1	6
3.	War and the perversion of power.	1	8
4.	Brotherhood gave full support to the commonwealth in war effort.	4	29

	Subject	Frequency of Occurrence	Total Column Inches
5.	Dictators and tyrants - ruthless enemies.	4	27
6.	Need a dynamic democracy to fight aggressive nations.	1	7
7.	The U.S. Presidential election.	1	6
8.	Churchill and post war reconstruction.	5	36
9.	State war aims - what are we fighting for.	2	24
10.	Neutral nations must disappear.	1	7
11.	Forecast conclusions of the war.	1	6
12.	Liberation has begun.	1	7
13.	Labor supported development and activity of the United Nations.	7	87
14.	Canadians share clothing with Europe.	1	6
15.	Socialism without totalitarianism - Britain.	1	6
16.	Nationalization and co-ordination of British Transport.	4	24
17.	Britains economic planning Board.	1	5
18.	CARE endorsed by labor.	1	5
19.	The Schuman Plan.	1	18
20.	Canadians must share in World Peace.	4	32
21.	Restore diplomatic recognition to Franco Spain - endorsed by Canada.	2	48
22.	ICFTU and world economy.	1	20
23.	Reviewed the economic situation in Britain.	1	9
24.	Study of Churchill and Roosevelt's nine point program.	1	8
25.	Canada's role in international affairs and relations.	3	14
26.	Communism in Korea - affecting Canadian economy.	1	12

	Subject	Frequency of Occurrence	Total Column Inches
27.	International affairs - supported disarmament agreement and opposed nuclear arms for Canada.	2	12
28.	Boycott South Africa.	1	3
29.	World problems of food, housing, racism.	1	15
30.	Rejected escalation of Vietnam war.	1	6
31.	Reviewed facism and the role of making changes.	1	4
32.	American labor goes to war.	1	10
33.	Hitler, German society, axis powers and change in German attitude after defeated by the Russians.	3	38
34.	Reviewed Soviet strength in the Far East.	1	8
35.	Lauded unconquered people in Nazi-occupied Europe who worked daily to fight back fascist terrorism.	1	11
36.	Reviewed the role of labor in the post-war world.	1	21
37.	Reviewed some of the world systems which cause war.	1	20
38.	Role of labor in assisting Britain through the post war recovery period.	1	17
	Totals	68	633

ISSUES RAISED IN DOCUMENTS PUBLISHED BY THE CANADIAN UNION OF PUBLIC EMPLOYEES.

A. Internal Issues

1. Labor Management Relations: includes terms and conditions of employment, right to organize, the right to bargain collectively, right to strike, and right to picket.

	Subject	Number of Articles	Total Column Inches
1.	Union status --- theory or fact? Should be allowed to join union of choice.	1	15
2.	Collective bargaining for the public servant - the role and record of CUPE.	3	50
3.	The strike and the civil servant.	1	36
4.	Time study hits the hospitals.	1	20
5.	Ontario hospital workers deprived of basic rights.	1	18
6.	Regional bargaining - good or bad? Must not be fragmented.	2	41
7.	Need expansion of vacation plans.	1	36
8.	Attitudes of management and labor in negotiations.	1	16
9.	Union opposed to management contracting out.	1	28
10.	Hospital workers are winning fight for living wages.	1	17
11.	Only dictators believe in outlawing strikes.	1	15
12.	Legal entity status and trade unions.	1	24
13.	Union opposed Saskatchewan labor law - essential services Act - forces workers back to work.	1	14
14.	New standard agreement by CUPE - guidelines for locals.	1	28
15.	Fringe benefit costs.	1	16
	Totals	18	374

2. Labor and Political Action.

	Subject	Number of Articles	Total Column Inches
1.	Why political action?	1	8
2.	Public employees need political education.	1	7
	Totals	2	15

3. Internal Trade Union Affairs: includes the structure of organized labor, the government of organized labor, form of organization; and regulation of internal affairs.

	Subject	Number of Articles	Total Column Inches
1.	Raiding between sister unions of CLC.	1	22
2.	The CUPE convention.	1	11
3.	Growth and advancement of CUPE.	1	14
4.	Automation is closing the white collar gap.	1	10
5.	Unions are not in same league as Teachers' Federation which boasts 100% full membership.	1	6
6.	The shop steward remains the backbone of the union.	1	6
	Totals	6	69

4. Regulation of Employer Practices - Nil

B. External Issues

5. Social Welfare: includes pensions, unemployment insurance, family allowances, health insurance, education, and workmen's compensation.

	Subject	Number of Articles	Total Column Inches
1.	Proposed decking of pensions rather than integrating private plans with the Canada Pension Plan.	1	36
	Totals	1	36

6. Economic Policy: includes housing, international trade, banking and credit institutions, employment, nationalization of industry, income tax, and manpower development and utilization.

	Subject	Number of Articles	Total Column Inches
1.	Will the government give the Economic Council a chance?	1	12
2.	Impact of technological change - automation.	2	19
3.	Wages, prices, profits and productivity.	1	28
4.	Wages and inflation.	1	26
	Totals	5	85

7. Structure of Government - Nil

8. Foreign Affairs - Nil

ISSUES RAISED IN DOCUMENTS PUBLISHED BY THE INTERNATIONAL CHEMICAL WORKERS

A. Internal Issues

1. Labor Management Relations: includes terms and conditions of employment, right to organize, right to bargain collectively, right to strike, and right to picket.

	Subject	Number of Articles	Total Column Inches
1.	Supported the Seamen's union as being the proper certified union for representing the Seaman in negotiations.	2	10
2.	Growing militancy of labor because of the reluctance of big business and government in recognizing and dealing with labor.	1	6
3.	The right to belong to union of own choice. Management should deal only with the certified union.	1	9
	Totals	4	25

2. Labor and Political Action

	Subject	Number of Articles	Total Column Inches
1.	Members urged to vote CCF.	1	7
	Totals	1	7

3. Internal Trade Union Affairs: includes the structure of organized labor, the government of organized labor, form of organization, and regulation of internal affairs.

	Subject	Number of Articles	Total Column Inches
1.	Supported concept of international unionism.	2	16
2.	Growth of ICWU in Canada.	1	29
3.	Must have strong rank and file - free from communistic tendencies.	1	27
4.	Role and importance of trade union movement - common purpose of better working conditions.	1	18
5.	Canadian labor is weak in education and publicity - need to upgrade union man.	1	14
6.	Objectives of the labor management.	1	10
7.	All trade unionists should support the Seamen.	1	8
8.	ICWU supported concept of autonomy for TLC.	1	3
	Totals	9	125

4. Regulation of Employers - Nil

B. External Issues

5. Social Welfare: includes pensions, unemployment insurance, family allowance, health insurance, education, and workmen's compensation.

	Subject	Number of Articles	Total Column Inches
1.	Abolish means test for pensioners.	1	18
2.	Gill report on unemployment insurance - received with mixed feelings.	1	11
	Totals	2	29

6. Economic Policy: includes housing, international trade, banking and credit institutions, employment, nationalization of industry, income tax, and manpower development and utilization.

	Subject	Number of Articles	Total Column Inches
1.	Urged nationalization of the Bell Telephone System in Canada, abolition of the radio license, prosecution of flour companies under the Combines Act and elimination of the means test for old age pensioners.	1	14
	Totals	1	14

7. Structure of Government - Nil

8. Foreign Affairs - Nil

ISSUES RAISED IN DOCUMENTS PUBLISHED BY THE INTERNATIONAL UNION OF MINE,  
MILL, AND SMELTER WORKERS.

A. Internal Issues

1. Labor Management Relations

	Subject	Number of Articles	Total Column Inches
1.	Gimmicks won't work in effort to force mine-mill out.	1	20
2.	Legal gimmicks trap unions.	1	40
3.	Trustee exposes betrayal in 598 and the mistake of using strike action.	1	18
4.	Unions position on the check-off.	1	10
5.	Ontario Labor Relations Board prejudiced.	1	6
6.	Bargaining depends on members.	1	3
7.	Company wide bargaining.	1	9
8.	Worker's liberties - at stake?	1	11
9.	Strike is labor's weapon.	1	6
10.	Strike at Gaspé challenge to all labor	1	4
	Totals	10	127

2. Labor and Political Action

	Subject	Number of Articles	Total Column Inches
1.	Statement on Federal election.	1	20

	Subject	Number of Articles	Total Column Inches
2.	Formation of a labor party.	1	3
3.	Union leaders have right to political activities.	1	8
	Totals	3	31

### 3. Internal Trade Union Affairs

	Subject	Number of Articles	Total Column Inches
1.	Problems between local 598 and national office - involved in local's elections.	20	240
2.	Problems between Steel and Mine-Mill (Jurisdictional) raiding.	6	90
3.	Need unity of all labor - unity within the union.	9	195
4.	Autonomy advocated for all unions (particularly Mine-Mill).	7	52
5.	Mine-Mill reject any/all communists.	3	38
6.	Mine-Mill application for affiliation with CLC.	8	70
7.	Proposed structural changes of Mine-Mill.	2	35
8.	Union strength is its members.	2	7
9.	New constitution of Mine-Mill - a Magna Carta.	3	18
10.	Report of officers to convention.	2	55
11.	Mine-Mill convention - which for policy formation.	2	10
12.	Jurisdictional problems - locals 1025 and 598.	1	31
13.	The new Canadian Mine-Mill union.	1	13

	Subject	Number of Articles	Total Column Inches
14.	Mine-Mill program for action.	2	18
15.	District 2 candidates for union office.	1	16
16.	Democracy dies in local 598.	1	19
17.	Members endorse actions of new executive.	1	10
18.	Expansion of Mine-Mill.	1	10
19.	A look at labor's problems.	1	32
20.	Mine-Mill Teamsters sign mutual aid pact.	1	12
21.	Alberta Federation of labor urges CLC to stop raids.	1	12
22.	Raiding on local 598.	1	4
23.	Union books audited - honesty does pay.	1	5
24.	The Herald and its aims.	1	4
25.	Role of union in representing labor.	1	5
26.	Small unions need strengthening.	1	6
27.	True internationalism does not mean domination.	1	4
28.	Expulsions weaken labor ranks.	1	5
29.	Unchain the labor movement.	1	8
30.	CNTU versus CLC philosophy.	1	7
	Totals	84	1031

4. Regulation of Employers - Nil

B. External Issues

5. Social Welfare

	Subject	Number of Articles	Total Column Inches
1.	Urged development of portable pensions - pension plan expansion.	4	18
2.	National health plan.	1	3
3.	For Canada's future - a square deal for our students.	1	7
	Totals	6	28

6. Economic Policy

	Subject	Number of Articles	Total Column Inches
1.	The tragic wastes of unemployment (automation effects).	4	42
2.	Center of Coyne controversy.	1	25
3.	Profits make inflation.	1	2
4.	Expand world trade to aid workers.	1	3
5.	Fleming's budget depresses labor.	1	5
	Totals	8	77

7. Structure of Government - Nil

8. Foreign Affairs

	Subject	Number of Articles	Total Column Inches
1.	Mine-Mill advocates trade and recognition of China.	1	6
	Totals	1	6

ISSUES RAISED IN DOCUMENTS PUBLISHED BY THE UNITED, ELECTRICAL, RADIO,  
AND MACHINE WORKERS.

A. Internal Issues

1. Labor Management Relations

	Subject	Number of Articles	Total Column Inches
1.	Union wages and other demands (living standards, security).	12	104
2.	Trade Union rights and proposed new labor statute.	9	110
3.	Labor management relations - a struggle (halt drive against labor).	14	147
4.	Supported strike action by labor.	12	90
5.	Brief to Royal Commission on industrial safety.	7	140
6.	Labor laws (code) curtail union rights (demand amendments).	13	103
7.	Views on proposed changes in Ontario labor relations act.	4	64
8.	Red Baiting: Bosses weapon.	3	31
9.	Union fights for seniority.	3	27
10.	Recognize collective bargaining through PC 1003.	2	17
11.	Brief on labor legislation.	2	37
12.	Forced arbitration - a threat to labor.	3	69
13.	Management denies union rights.	5	46
14.	Gains made in UE negotiations.	2	10
15.	Call for action to defeat Bill H-8.	2	14
16.	How incentive are incentive rates.	2	32
17.	Strike breaking in the modern manner.	1	12

	Subject	Number of Articles	Total Column Inches
18.	Opposed McCarthyism.	1	3
19.	Conciliation a slow process.	1	8
20.	Target of employer is entire working class.	1	8
21.	Massey-Harris - UAW arbitration hearing.	1	8
22.	Employers favor wage freeze.	1	8
23.	Illegal seizure of wages.	1	10
24.	Criticized Financial Post's coverage of labor dispute.	1	8
25.	Unions pay, companies own.	1	8
26.	Sweatshop working conditions.	1	8
27.	Toronto unions confer on labor law.	1	12
28.	CCL rallies support to win Ford strike.	1	9
29.	Rand formula - union security vs. company security.	1	6
30.	Keep the Taft-Hartley out of Canada.	1	12
31.	A look at labor boards.	1	16
32.	Program on women's rights.	1	20
33.	Bill 7 - a real threat to civil rights.	1	10
34.	UE members protest 'ex parte' injunctions.	1	8
35.	Injunctions are in conflict with spirit of labor relations.	1	8
	Totals	114	1223

2. Labor and Political Action

	Subject	Number of Articles	Total Column Inches
1.	Unions need political action.	3	27
2.	Need unity against Duplessis in Quebec.	5	40
3.	UE restates position in supporting CCF.	3	26
4.	Opposed Padlock law.	2	16
5.	Political action of labor and national elections.	2	61
6.	Press government for labor's program.	1	6
7.	Industrial peace requires good labor legislation.	1	10
8.	Factionists condemned.	1	6
9.	Unions must be free of political control.	1	6
10.	Convention resolution - more legislative action.	1	6
11.	Political action debate of UE.	2	15
12.	Federal election - a 'buck' a vote.	1	8
13.	Labor should have political involvement in national plans.	1	8
14.	Former CCL official joins Liberals.	1	8
15.	Opposed McCarthyism.	1	8
16.	Opposed communist activities in union.	1	8
17.	Government offers little to Canadians.	1	8
	Totals	28	267

### 3. Internal Trade Union Affairs

	Subject	Number of Articles	Total Column Inches
1.	Need co-ordination and unity in union effort.	27.	295
2.	Opposed raiding among unions (Cancer of movement).	13	178
3.	Urged strong UE and CCL programs.	7	122
4.	Role of conventions in the labor movement.	7	66
5.	Convention resolutions (improve worker benefits).	4	74
6.	Need strong national centers (merger of TLC - CCL (AFL-CIO)).	5	45
7.	Red Baiting - oppose smear tactics.	4	41
8.	Put real issues on convention agenda.	2	33
9.	Future and purposes of UE.	6	76
10.	Need to organize all workers.	3	24
11.	Members run UE and make policy.	4	64
12.	Unionists support seamen.	3	33
13.	Mosher defies rules to suspend UE.	2	22
14.	Trade unions in other countries.	3	24
15.	Labor must strengthen efforts for security.	2	23
16.	Reviewed international labor movement.	2	16
17.	Opposed racketeering and corruption.	2	16
18.	Jackson urges Mosher to call CCL wage party.	1	15
19.	Step up union activity on legislative front.	1	9
20.	Liberals fought union as 'Reds' in 1872.	1	4
21.	Action of union officials may be harmful.	1	8
22.	Labor must give leadership to people.	1	8

	Subject	Number of Articles	Total Column Inches
23.	The issue is trade union democracy.	1	12
24.	Union purposes.	1	4
25.	Rank and file will houseclean CCL leadership.	1	10
26.	Smith act endangers labor movement.	1	12
27.	The danger of national company union.	1	15
28.	Union education urged.	1	8
29.	Reviewed strength of UAW.	1	8
30.	Hoffa - strong leader.	1	8
31.	Review action of Mr. Banks.	1	8
32.	Applaud work of Mine-Mill.	1	8
33.	Problems between steel and UEW.	1	8
34.	Labor can influence economic conditions.	1	8
35.	Fight outside control of trade unions.	1	8
36.	Unions need planning - education programs.	1	8
	Totals	115	1321

4. Regulation of Employers - Nil

5. Social Welfare

	Subject	Number of Articles	Total Column Inches
1.	Urge changes in unemployment insurance - act and coverage.	6	59
2.	Urged increased health and welfare.	6	65
3.	Social security needs action now.	3	36
4.	Urged more racial tolerance.	4	32
5.	Urged Bill of Rights - civil rights gains momentum.	3	24
6.	Family allowance registration.	1	2
7.	Debate education systems.	1	8
8.	Need more old age pensions.	1	10
	Totals	25	236

6. Economic Policy

	Subject	Number of Articles	Total Column Inches
1.	Urged remedial action for unemployment.	25	275
2.	St. Lawrence - its Canada's river for Canada's future.	13	163
3.	Canada's program for jobs and security.	9	151
4.	Urged remedial action for inflation.	11	100
5.	Oppose foreign (U.S.A.) ownership in Canada.	14	128
6.	Reviewed national immigration policy.	4	32

	Subject	Number of Articles	Total Column Inches
7.	The facts about automation.	11	192
8.	Opposed profit system (greed) - proposed excess profits taxation - inequity in tax system - discriminates against workers.	17	195
9.	Urged retention of price controls.	4	40
10.	UE gives favorable reception to Gordon report.	5	80
11.	Keep Canadian control of Columbia.	4	85
12.	Urged remedial action for depression.	4	38
13.	Jobs are dependent on World trade.	4	114
14.	Labor must spearhead drive for peoples needs.	3	61
15.	Postwar recovery.	2	22
16.	Pipeline debate.	4	34
17.	Urged to hold rent ceiling.	2	17
18.	UE tells government to amend foreign policy.	2	13
19.	Effect of disarmament on labor.	2	21
20.	Problems with economic system.	2	16
21.	Hands off CBC.	2	16
22.	Urge free economy.	1	15
23.	Taxation - a political problem.	1	12
24.	Delay in price probe.	1	8
25.	Halt the war mongers.	1	10
26.	View Abbott plan as infamous.	1	8
27.	Urge probe of price index.	1	9
28.	Peace is important to labor.	1	15
29.	McCarthyism - a serious threat to Canadians.	1	16

	Subject	Number of Articles	Total Column Inches
30.	UE seeks action on jobs.	1	10
31.	Electrical industry and employment.	1	33
32.	Urge Canadian independence.	1	10
33.	Salesmen, advertisers force high drug costs.	1	14
34.	Views on patriotism.	1	8
35.	Stop U.S. economic invasion of other lands.	1	8
36.	Viewed free enterprise.	1	8
37.	Opposed government favoritism of U.S.	1	8
38.	View of Polish wheat purchase.	1	8
39.	Ontario budget disappoints labor.	1	8
40.	Need reduced housing problem.	1	8
41.	Economic strangulation of Canada.	1	8
Totals		164	2017

7. Structure of Government - Nil

8. Foreign Affairs

	Subject	Number of Articles	Total Column Inches
1.	Labor must have voice for peace.	4	39

	Subject	Number of Articles	Total Column Inches
2.	Who is responsible for Korea?	2	16
3.	Racism in U.S.	2	16
4.	Oppose nuclear tests and nuclear weapons.	2	16
5.	UE protests U.S.A. nuclear missiles over Canada.	1	8
6.	Who distorts history?	1	8
7.	Oppose foreign troupes in Canada.	1	8
8.	Cyprus - role of labor.	1	8
9.	Dulles opposed arms reduction.	1	8
	Totals	15	127

ISSUES RAISED IN DOCUMENTS PUBLISHED BY THE CANADIAN PACKINGHOUSE WORKERS.

A. Internal Issues

1. Labor and Management Relations: includes terms and conditions of employment, right to organize, right to bargain collectively, right to strike, right to picket.

	Subject	Number of Articles	Total Column Inches
1.	Guaranteed annual wage plan.	2	53
2.	Seniority versus favoritism in promotions and day-offs.	1	16
3.	Collective bargaining necessary to face job rate tumble.	1	39
4.	Used conciliation process for first time.	1	42
5.	Reviewed profit sharing plan of Canada Packers.	1	24
6.	Opposed to union being forced to conciliate dispute on a Provincial basis - unions bargain nationally.	1	3
7.	Unions attempt to get conciliation.	1	12
8.	Urged Revision of Criminal Code sections which affect right to strike, picketing (Bill 93).	1	3
9.	Opposed to compulsory arbitration.	1	6
10.	Required equal pay for equal work (men and women).	1	2
	Totals	11	200

2. Labor and Political Action

	Subject	Number of Articles	Total Column Inches
1.	Criticism of government action in the pipeline dispute.	3	41
2.	Criticized Ontario Labor Relations Act machinery for conciliation procedures.	1	7
3.	Urged establishment of a National Labor Relations Act to ensure uniform labor legislation.	2	5
4.	Supported trusteeship for the Great Lakes.	1	15
5.	Acceptable reaction to the Norris Report.	1	8
6.	Review role in political action.	1	7
7.	Urged government to amend Annuities Act.	1	5
8.	Need other government action to improve living conditions and standards in Canada.	1	4
	Totals	11	92

3. Internal Trade Union Affairs: includes structure of organized labor, government of organized labor, form of organization, and regulation of internal affairs.

	Subject	Number of Articles	Total Column Inches
1.	Role of trade union in society.	1	33
2.	Unions must advance the peoples cause.	1	30
3.	Union task does not end at the bargaining table.	1	23
4.	Where is the trade union movement going in the future?	1	16

	Subject	Number of Articles	Total Column Inches
5.	Union finances.	1	3
6.	Principles upon which unions are built.	1	3
7.	International unionism.	1	7
8.	Conflict of CIO unions with CCL.	1	12
	Totals	8	127

4. Regulation of Employers - Nil

B. External Issues

5. Social Welfare: includes pensions, unemployment insurance, family allowances, health insurance, education, and workmen's compensation.

	Subject	Number of Articles	Total Column Inches
1.	Need improvements in unemployment insurance.	2	11
2.	Advocate need of a health plan (health insurance).	3	10
3.	Request Old Age Pensions at age 70 without a means test.	1	2
4.	The advantages and necessity of a "portable pension plan".	1	36
	Totals	7	59

6. Economic Policy: includes housing, international trade, banking and credit institutions, employment, nationalization of industry, income tax, and manpower development and utilization.

	Subject	Number of Articles	Total Column Inches
1.	Canadian housing is a national ailment.	5	15
2.	Foremost economic problem facing labor is unemployment - urge remedial action.	6	73
3.	Immigration - new Canadians not to be blamed for present unemployment.	3	48
4.	Automation and the worker.	3	31
5.	Profit sharing - a paradox (wage sharing).	1	25
6.	Urged elimination of the incentive system.	1	21
7.	Wage increases do not necessarily cause inflation.	1	6
8.	Workers not getting their share of National Income.	1	6
9.	Economy is inflexible - needs readjustment.	2	19
10.	Price spreads commission.	1	42
11.	Federal import replacement plan.	1	10
12.	Review of U.S. ownership in Canada.	1	12
13.	Charged that 1953 budget was a "business dividend".	1	3
14.	Will early retirement help unemployment.	1	7
15.	Urged establishment of price and rent controls.	1	3
16.	Protested increase in taxation.	1	4
17.	Urged government compensation for workers in plants laid-off because of foot-mouth epidemic.	1	2
	Totals	31	327

7. Structure of Government: includes the constitution, parliament affairs, and decision making procedures.

	Subject	Number of Articles	Total Column Inches
1.	Proposed establishment of a Department of International Affairs.	1	4
	Totals	1	4

8. Foreign Affairs

	Subject	Number of Articles	Total Column Inches
1.	Canada has an important role in international relations.	1	2
2.	Canada has an important role in the defense of North America.	1	1
	Totals	2	3

ISSUES RAISED IN DOCUMENTS PUBLISHED BY THE UNITED STEELWORKERS OF AMERICA.

A. Internal Issues

1. Labor Management Relations: includes terms and conditions of employment, right to organize, right to bargain collectively, right to strike, and right to picket.

	Subject	Number of Articles	Total Column Inches
1.	The wage policy of the USWA.	9	238
2.	Collective bargaining in good faith - rights of management and labor and the effects of labor law.	13	369
3.	Urged recognition of labor.	3	25
4.	Opposed to compulsory arbitration.	2	44
5.	Opposed to court injunctions.	1	21
6.	Reviewed labor management relations in Canada - new direction - a look at Nova Scotia.	7	221
7.	National Labor Code - Pros and Cons.	2	53
8.	Urged development of guaranteed annual wage.	1	19
9.	Urged development of uniform standard of working conditions.	1	13
10.	Arbitration - problems and abuses.	1	35
11.	Conciliation Boards - a necessary evil?	1	24
12.	Are strikes necessary? (Murdochville)	3	121
13.	Right to strike in the public service.	1	60
14.	Union's plan for settlement of steel dispute (1946).	1	40
15.	Labor legislation - is labor losing its freedom?	2	87
16.	All out attack on Canadian Unions by big business.	3	59
17.	Reviewed Doctors' strike in Saskatchewan.	2	36

	Subject	Number of Articles	Total Column Inches
18.	Supported outlawing of strike breaking.	1	15
19.	Feel that health and pensions should not be confined to collective bargaining.	1	25
20.	Businesses with long records of profitability should improve working conditions automatically.	1	14
21.	Safety - a management responsibility?	1	25
22.	War regulations and labor organization (restrictive).	3	24
23.	Role of courts in disputes.	1	8
24.	Co-ordination a must for chain wide bargaining.	1	18
25.	Issues in U.S. Steel strike - carbon copy of Stelco.	1	7
26.	Stelco management blames U.S. steelworkers for price hike in Canada.	1	10
27.	Wage cuts will not solve Canada's economic problems.	1	20
28.	Effect of law on jobs (right to work law).	2	90
29.	Arbitration case results (1957).	1	19
30.	Hours of work.	1	64
31.	Vacations with pay.	1	24
32.	Administrative Boards - do they need the courtroom cure.	1	40
33.	Company cannot withhold earned bonus as disciplinary measure.	1	43
34.	Can employers force compulsory retirement?	1	18
35.	Profit sharing - generally unaccepted in Canada.	1	105
36.	Steps in the grievance procedure.	1	42
37.	Working conditions and salaries of Nurses in Canada.	1	45

	Subject	Number of Articles	Total Column Inches
38.	Who exploits who? (Industry versus labor).	1	14
	Totals	77	2135

2. Labor and Political Action

	Subject	Number of Articles	Total Column Inches
1.	Should unions be in politics? Yes.	3	47
2.	Endorsed new political party.	4	95
3.	Labor's greatest weapon: the ballot.	1	30
4.	Urged representation on government bodies.	1	7
5.	Labor should be involved in politics as labor depends on legislation.	1	15
6.	Organized labor in Canadian politics.	1	50
7.	Political action needed by labor	1	8
8.	Steel strike and the role of government.	1	13
9.	Social Credit legislates against political opposition.	1	40
10.	A review of Canadian and American Party systems.	1	51
11.	The old undemocrats - old parties.	1	50
12.	Good labor standards - a country's conscience (American).	1	16
	Totals	17	422

3. Internal Trade Union Affairs: includes structure of organized labor, government of organized labor, form of organization, and regulation of internal affairs.

	Subject	Number of Articles	Total Column Inches
1.	Need for organizing white collar workers.	8	231
2.	What lies ahead for labor and unions?	7	322
3.	Conflict in Mine-Mill workers - jurisdiction turned over to steel by Congress.	7	112
4.	USWA and the Canadian National Centers - Labor unity (TLC - CCL merger).	9	156
5.	Favor international unionism.	2	124
6.	Canada & Canadians - autonomy in unions.	6	74
7.	Workers' role in and desire for effective unions.	3	113
8.	The union man - role of the union in the community.	3	72
9.	Purpose of the USWA.	3	27
10.	Objectives of the labor movement.	1	62
11.	Steelworkers need active public relations program.	2	37
12.	Credit union philosophy.	1	13
13.	World Federation of Trade Unions.	1	3
14.	Is our steward system obsolete - need more efficient union.	1	27
15.	The Labor Council - Hamilton.	1	14
16.	Policy of the union paper.	2	10
17.	Labor too strong - where?	1	9
18.	Importance of unity of international trade union movement.	2	12
19.	Rank and file must be united.	2	12

	Subject	Number of Articles	Total Column Inches
20.	Trusteeship - a bitter pill.	1	5
21.	Labor must weld national unity.	2	20
22.	Leadership race (1965).	1	20
23.	Union dues and what they do for members.	3	83
24.	Highlights of union policy conference.	1	40
25.	Steelworkers chart future.	3	71
26.	Union responsibilities.	1	29
27.	Productivity Council is not the answer.	1	12
28.	Need to organize the unorganized.	1	14
29.	Can labor block the attack - propaganda war.	1	39
30.	Labor's public image.	1	26
31.	State unionism in Newfoundland.	1	81
	Totals	79	1870

4. Regulation of Employer Practices - Nil

B. External Issues

5. Social Welfare: includes pensions, unemployment insurance, family allowances, health insurance, education, and workmen's compensation.

	Subject	Number of Articles	Total Column Inches
1.	Urged the establishment of portable pensions.	2	27
2.	Urged more medical care.	3	180
3.	Viewed need for higher education - children are losing out.	2	87
4.	Viewed financing of social services.	1	8
5.	Labor's role in the United Appeal (endorsed).	1	83
6.	Pension benefits in collective bargaining.	1	41
7.	Reviewed Old Age Pensions.	1	2
8.	Unemployment insurance (including law passage).	2	8
9.	Pensioners - are they orphans of plenty.	1	5
10.	Medicare in Saskatchewan.	1	9
	Totals	15	450

6. Economic Policy: includes housing, international trade, banking and credit institutions, employment, nationalization of industry, income tax, and manpower development and utilization.

	Subject	Number of Articles	Total Column Inches
1.	Labor's role in social and economic systems.	15	318
2.	Urged remedial action for unemployment and strive towards full employment.	9	258
3.	Urged remedial action for inflation.	4	97
4.	Viewed immigration - softening attitude - once feared immigrants and unemployment - now encouraged to join union.	3	64

	Subject	Number of Articles	Total Column Inches
5.	Need manpower development program (retraining).	5	307
6.	Automation - bitter and sweet - what is the responsibility of government.	9	401
7.	Price controls imperative in national interest.	2	18
8.	Viewed Canada re: tariff and trade.	5	112
9.	Submission to the economic commission.	1	10
10.	Myth of productivity and wages.	1	22
11.	Co-operation, not competition is life blood of democracy.	1	25
12.	Insurance lobby - charge what traffic will bear.	1	20
13.	Urged enquiry into price policies in basic industries.	1	12
14.	Objection to government action in "pipeline" problem (favor public over private ownership).	3	52
15.	Who risks what in Canadian Uranium - Miners?	1	28
16.	Machine tool industry - vital for industrial development.	1	25
17.	Labor's role in the new industrial revolution.	1	17
18.	Canada's manpower consultative service.	1	28
19.	The effect of industrialization on the family.	1	100
20.	Policy on defense by CLC - role of labor.	3	73
21.	Economic consequences of disarmament.	1	48
22.	High cost of borrowing money.	1	43
23.	Labor college of Canada - highly recommended for training.	1	61
24.	Reviewed the cost-of-living index.	1	3

	Subject	Number of Articles	Total Column Inches
25.	Urged adoption of a National Housing program.	1	3
26.	Viewed income tax.	1	4
27.	How big is big business?	1	11
28.	Attacked concentration of wealth.	1	5
29.	Questioned whether labor should be asked to hold the line.	1	12
30.	The Price of Patriotism.	1	4
31.	Reviewed conscription of industry.	1	5
	Totals	79	2186

7. Structure of Government: includes the constitution, parliament affairs, and decision making procedures.

	Subject	Number of Articles	Total Column Inches
1.	The price of keeping "One Canada" the constitutional amendment.	1	44
	Totals	1	44

8. Foreign Affairs

	Subject	Number of Articles	Total Column Inches
1.	Conquest without conflict.	1	8
	Totals	1	8

ISSUES RAISED IN DOCUMENTS PUBLISHED BY THE UNITED AUTOMOBILE WORKERS.

A. Internal Issues

1. Labor Management Relations: includes terms and conditions of employment, the right to organize, the right to bargain collectively, the right to strike, and the right to picket.

	Subject	Number of Articles	Total Column Inches
1.	Union demands re: wages and working conditions.	29	445
2.	UAW and management relations.	7	109
3.	Conciliation reports (blind justice).	3	34
4.	Strikes of the UAW.	4	41
5.	New labor bill needed by labor.	6	33
6.	Labor legislation attacks workers.	3	29
7.	The Rand formula.	2	30
8.	CCL opts for removal of conciliation process.	2	22
9.	UAW does not oppose conciliation.	1	10
10.	Need union security.	2	19
11.	The issue of job security.	2	14
12.	Right to choose own union.	1	23
13.	Right to strike during contract seem as major need.	1	23
14.	Labor management must co-operate.	1	17
15.	Negotiations go better without third party intervention.	1	8
16.	Responsibility of management in social welfare.	1	6
17.	Bargaining procedures should be improved.	1	14
18.	Labor board hearing.	1	10

	Subject	Number of Articles	Total Column Inches
19.	Labor demands democratic labor code.	1	8
20.	Condemned "ex parte" injunctions.	1	16
21.	Opposed to compulsory arbitrations.	1	8
22.	Increase purchasing power of employees laid off.	1	9
23.	Need action to meet technological change and shorter work week.	1	17
24.	Contract duration.	1	6
25.	Lag of worker benefits during the war.	1	9
26.	Freedom - for what? for whom?	1	6
27.	Bill 338 - Act for settlement of industrial disputes.	1	8
28.	Middle age group unwanted by industry.	1	5
29.	International contract covering workers on both sides of the border urged.	1	6
30.	Need to assist the returning servicemen.	1	7
31.	Labor welcomes enquiry into wages and labor relations.	1	6
32.	UAW policy calls for orderly and constitutional procedures during negotiations.	1	7
33.	Conciliation Board procedure.	1	8
34.	Opposed freezing of wages.	1	8
35.	Victory at Ford.	1	6
36.	War Labor Relations Board usurps powers.	1	5
37.	National labor hearings must enforce democracy.	1	8
38.	Living standards of workers - management has the responsibility to improve.	1	7
39.	Report to Windsor (public relations).	1	8

	Subject	Number of Articles	Total Column Inches
40.	Managers - not owners.	1	5
41.	Labor relations in Ontario.	1	3
42.	One man umpire accepted by both sides.	1	4
43.	"Fine legal mind" louses up labor relations.	1	8
	Totals	93	1075

## 2. Labor and Political Action

	Subject	Number of Articles	Total Column Inches
1.	Unions should take political action (answers lie in politics).	23	259
2.	CLC forges new political party.	4	50
3.	Support CCF - nominate CCF candidates.	5	45
4.	CCL reverses non-partisan political action stand.	2	12
5.	UAW applies pressure on Reds.	2	21
6.	Support of CCF by Federation.	2	35
7.	Unions need political action committees (PAC).	1	18
8.	Government by people goal of UAW.	1	16
9.	Democracy? Fascists? Communists? Characteristics of loyalties.	1	24
10.	UAW balks at tying union to one political party.	1	12
11.	CCL shapes election policy.	1	8
12.	CLC promised some action by government.	1	11

	Subject	Number of Articles	Total Column Inches
13.	Lessons of recent elections.	2	10
14.	Labor must be rid of Mr. Dreer.	1	7
15.	Labor must keep politicians honest.	1	4
16.	Party system - Canadian tradition.	1	6
17.	Coalition - a living reality.	1	3
18.	Problems of parliament.	1	4
19.	Labor and the law.	1	7
20.	Civil election time in Windsor.	1	4
	Totals	53	556

3. Internal Trade Union Affairs: includes structure of organized labor, government of organized labor, form of organization, and regulation of internal affairs.

	Subject	Number of Articles	Total Column Inches
1.	Need unity in the labor movement.	11	119
2.	Conventions (CCL) - an instrument of organized labor and the scene of policy making.	12	154
3.	Unions must avoid corruption and the rackets.	4	62
4.	Labor must march ahead.	3	22
5.	Need education programs for labor.	2	37
6.	The Rand formula endorsed.	2	21
7.	Leadership and membership problems.	2	25

	Subject	Number of Articles	Total Column Inches
8.	UAW supports concept of Co-ops.	3	25
9.	It is a duty to join the union.	1	30
10.	Organize to win the peace.	1	17
11.	Union has new problems now the war is over.	1	36
12.	Proposed merger of UAW and FE (Farm Equipment Workers).	1	14
13.	Labor's real wants.	1	12
14.	Unions need new goals.	2	37
15.	CCL wage policy set.	1	9
16.	Canadian labor jolted by Congress revolt.	1	8
17.	International unions don't scare probbers in Canada.	1	10
18.	Anti-union elements.	1	8
19.	What is our union doing for us.	2	17
20.	Democracy and the union.	1	8
21.	Union funds (steelworkers) used to finance political party.	1	9
22.	Organization will resist control by political parties.	1	8
23.	Future of Canadian Autoworkers.	1	18
24.	UAW withdraws from CCL - PAC.	1	13
25.	Raps 'legalistic' arbitration approach.	1	12
26.	Tolerance - A new challenge for labor.	1	7
27.	Reds are enemies of labor.	1	7
28.	Review of problems with Seamen's union.	1	3

	Subject	Number of Articles	Total Column Inches
29.	Canadian workers are well organized.	1	10
30.	Raiding is a vice.	1	5
31.	Equality of the Canadian worker.	1	6
32.	Choose right men in union elections.	1	3
33.	Want autonomy for Canadian unions.	1	8
34.	1/20 of UAW - CIO strike fund goes to 1/7 of members.	1	4
	Totals	67	784

4. Regulation of Employers - Nil

B. External Issues

5. Social Welfare: includes pensions, unemployment insurance, family allowances, health insurance, education, and workmen's compensation.

	Subject	Number of Articles	Total Column Inches
1.	Need unemployment insurance expansion and coverage.	3	46
2.	Need increased social security.	2	18
3.	Pension improvements needed for greater security.	3	35
4.	Need hospital - medical insurance.	4	18
5.	Urged elimination of inequities in security program.	1	3

	Subject	Number of Articles	Total Column Inches
6.	A program for the retired.	1	12
7.	Need national pension plan.	2	9
8.	Urged family allowance bill.	1	7
9.	Problems of retirement - social <u>insecurity</u> .	1	6
10.	Lack of National Social Security Act.	1	6
	Totals	19	160

6. Economic Policy: includes housing, international trade, banking and credit institutions, employment, nationalization of industry, income tax, and manpower development and utilization.

	Subject	Number of Articles	Total Column Inches
1.	Automation - Stewart or Master.	9	85
2.	Economic system needs improvement - look for economic prospects.	7	121
3.	Opposed inflation - urged remedial steps.	6	67
4.	Small cars - big business - urged 75% Canadian content in cars.	4	49
5.	Public housing gets acid test (ask tax break for building industry).	4	48
6.	Urged remedial action for unemployment.	6	64
7.	Trade - strong effects on labor.	11	117
8.	UAW brief gets veto by Windsor city council.	2	126

	Subject	Number of Articles	Total Column Inches
9.	More on trans Canada gas (pipeline).	2	32
10.	Good and Bad . . . . U.S. \$.	2	46
11.	Three way partnership to ensure prosperity.	2	24
13.	Urged overhaul of immigration policy.	3	26
14.	Royal Commission on Auto Industry.	2	25
15.	Economic demands.	2	11
16.	Controlled prices needed.	3	16
17.	Problems of post war recovery.	2	12
18.	Labor's fight to prevent Canada's economic bondage.	2	12
19.	Opposed profiteers - monopolies - cartels - combines.	6	73
20.	Democracy outsold by dictatorship.	1	19
21.	UAW presses Ottawa for action on Bladen recommendations.	1	12
22.	Program to increase consumer purchasing power urged.	1	16
23.	Labor seeks peace, security.	2	23
24.	Too high profits limit prosperity - keep excess profits tax.	2	27
25.	United labor makes plea for nation's future.	1	16
26.	Relationship between wages, profits, and productivity.	2	22
27.	Canadian autoworkers ask price cut.	1	10
28.	Canadian labor has big stake in Gordon Commission.	1	14
29.	Bell revamps transportation system - blow to auto industry.	1	5
30.	Federal labor policy hinders all out production.	1	7
31.	Labor demands equality for French Canada.	1	12

	Subject	Number of Articles	Total Column Inches
32.	Wages or capital expansion.	1	10
33.	Price cutting can save Canada's farm implement industry.	1	6
	Totals	92	1153

7. Structure of Government - Nil

8. Foreign Affairs

	Subject	Number of Articles	Total Column Inches
1.	Local 195 stands for Yalta.	1	56
2.	Nato - UN compromise wins approval.	1	10
3.	Kremlin happy - U.S. embraces Franco.	1	6
4.	U.S. tricked by Stalin into being a war minded nation.	1	4
	Totals	4	76

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